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The Virginia Mountaineers

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The ordinary picturesque portrayal of the Southern mountain folk in newspapers, magazines, missionary literature and missionary expositions forms a very striking contrast to these mountain people as seen in real life and is extremely amusing to those who are familiar with the prevailing conditions in the Virginia highlands. These vivid representations, or rather misrepresentations, are usually not limited to the mountain districts of any particular state, but include, *en masse*, all the inhabitants of the Southern Appalachians.

Let us view first the Virginia mountaineers as they have been presented—along with other Southern highlanders—through the editorial columns of some of the leading newspapers and magazines of the United States. Quotations from a few of the thousands of comments on the Virginia court massacre at Hillsville will suffice.

From the New York *Evening Mail* we quote: "These Virginian and Kentuckian and Tennessean outlaws are the most zealous and earnest conservatives in the world. They regulate their lives by immemorial customs. To them all "book-l'arnin'" means revolution and subversion.

The Baltimore *Sun* suggests the following prescription for this diseased section of country: "There are but two remedies for such a situation as this, and they are education and extermination. With many of the individuals, the latter is the only remedy. Men and races alike, when they defy civilization, must die. The mountaineers of Virginia and Kentucky and North Carolina, like the red Indians and the South African Boers, must learn this lesson."

The Kansas City *Star*, in speaking of the mountainous sections of North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia informs its readers that: "There are whole counties without railroads, telegraphs, telephones or even churches."

The *Literary Digest* of March 30, 1912, says: ". . . We have on our hands another national problem of no mean magnitude—the problem of bringing the 3,000,000 isolated inhabitants of our southern mountains back into the procession of civilization and progress from which they have been separated for generations." Two prominent features of this quotation should be noted: (1) The three million people spoken of include practically the entire population of the Southern Highlands; (2) That these three millions of people are not within the scope of civilization.

In an *Outlook* editorial of June 22, 1912, "The College and the Sheriff," Berea College\* and the Hillsdale† court tragedy are discussed. We quote from this editorial: "Five or six miles from Berea the turnpike ends and the trail or path begins. From that point the traveler walks or rides astride. He finds himself in a great mountain region in which two million people have lived by themselves for generations. . . . If ever a college held a great light aloft in a dark place that college is Berea. . . . The cure for the numerous lawlessness of the feud is not an army of sheriffs: it is Berea College. Lawlessness ends wherever the college gets a foothold."

More astounding than the above tragedy-inspired sayings are the following quotations from *The Southern Mountaineers*, written by John Fox, Jr., which was published in Scribner's in 1901 and later in *Blue Grass and Rhododendron*. He says: "The first generation after the Revolution had no schools and churches. Both are rare and primitive today. To this day, few Southern Mountaineers can read, write, and cipher; few indeed can do more." . . . "And it is really startling to realize that when one speaks of the Southern Mountaineers, he speaks of nearly three millions of people who live in eight states—Virginia and Alabama and the Southern states between."

\*Berea College is in Kentucky.

†Hillsdale is in Virginia—more than a hundred miles from the Kentucky border.

The mountaineer of missionary literature and of missionary expositions is no higher type of the uncivilized man than is the mountaineer of the newspapers and magazines. We take the following from *The Highlanders of the South*, a book written by Samuel H. Thompson and used in the study course of the stewards who had charge of the mountain section of the missionary exposition called the "World in Baltimore."\* "Shirts, trousers, coat, shoes, socks and hats constitute the wardrobe of the average Southern mountaineer. Very few of them wear under-clothes." From what the author terms, "Some statistics relating to an isolated township of average conditions, in a border country of the southern Appalachians," we take: "Illegitimacy: sixteen and two-thirds per cent of parents illegitimate, eight per cent of children illegitimate." In one of the closing paragraphs of the book we find: "You would be surprised to have a Methodist preacher take you far up in the mountains where the moral relations of the sexes are hardly more sacred than among lower animals. . . . Many, many, such communities have no preacher at all. Many such homes are bare even of the commonest furniture and home-comforts, not having even a comb for the hair."

The people who attended the "World in Baltimore"—also, as I am informed, those who saw the "World in Cincinnati" and the "World in Boston"†—were given the following information regarding Southern mountain life. The scene: A little cabin containing an old bed of prehistoric model; some apples, beans and pepper-pods strung on strings, hanging on the outside walls of the cabin; the following articles scattered about the room: reel, spinning wheels, loom, oven, candle-moulds, hand wool cards, wooden tray and rolling-pin; and some pots swung over an open fire near the cabin. What was told to visitors by the stewards in charge? That the people of the Southern Appalachians live just as they lived a hundred years ago; that they card their wool, spin it, weave their cloth, knit their socks and stockings—all by hand; that they bake their bread in an oven; do their cooking

\*An exposition under the auspices of the Missionary Education Movement, in which practically all the churches of the city took part. In one immense building were scenes representing the life of the various mission fields. Stewards in charge explained the customs, religious life, etc., of each territory represented. The exposition lasted five weeks and was visited by about 150,000 people.

†I have been informed that the attendance at the Boston Exposition was 500,000.

over an open fire; and mould their own candles, which, with the pine torch, serve to illuminate their cabins. By questioning the stewards one received the following information: This exhibit represents the home life of practically all the people of the Southern Appalachians; the articles seen here are in every well-stocked home; the cabins rarely have but one room, though sometimes the better homes have two, one above the other, the upper one being reached by ladder from the outside; improved farm machinery and telephones are not in use anywhere; there are some mail routes, but most of the communities do not get sufficient mail to justify the establishment of routes; a few mission churches have been established, but no other churches are found; the few public schools that exist are almost worthless; little is known of medical skill, there being no physicians except the mountain herb doctor. By referring to our *Guide Book to the Exposition*, we learn that the section represented here "Includes the mountain masses and enclosed valleys of nine states. . . . The two Virginias and Tennessee may be said to have the largest section of this territory. . . . The whole region is 101,880 square miles in area." Also, that "Lack of transportation and trade, scarcity of money, and timid shrinking from an attempt to invade the outside world—these and like conditions have held the mountaineers fast in their fateful environment." In speaking of the lines of uplift, we read: "As a third and a most indispensable agency of uplift, the missionary forces of the churches must through their self-sacrificing service and transforming ideals create a new life among the Southern mountaineers. This is being done through the establishment of schools and churches and model homes of missionaries through the region by many of the home boards of Northern churches." Note here, first, as in other citations, the broad expanse of territory included: "The mountain masses and enclosed valleys," which in area are "101,880 square miles;" secondly, the location of the largest section of said territory is the two Virginias and Tennessee; thirdly, that the situation is such that even the establishment of model homes is necessary.

Inasmuch as the foregoing pictures of mountain life have been largely an outgrowth of events occurring on Virginia soil, and since accuracy is more easily attainable in a definite study of a particular territory, the reader is now invited to a careful consid-

eration of some facts pertaining to the seventeen extreme southwestern counties of the "Old Dominion." The region embraced in these counties is that part of the state so often referred to as the uncivilized mountain section and extends from the counties of Wise and Lee, the scene of John Fox's *Trail of the Lonesome Pine*, to Carroll county, the home of the Allens. In order that the statistical facts may serve as an index to the actual social, religious, educational and economic conditions of the remotest of these counties, it is necessary to give specific data by counties rather than for the section as a whole. In the tables given, there may be some minor errors, but the facts have been very carefully collected and are approximately correct.

That the other figures given may be studied and applied intelligently, the area and population of each county is given in table No. 1.

TABLE No. 1

AREA, POPULATION, PHYSICIANS, LAWYERS, NORMAL-SCHOOL  
ATTENDANCE AND HIGH SCHOOLS

COUNTIES	Area Sq. Mi.	Population	Physicians	Lawyers	Teachers Al- lend Summer Normal, 1909	No. High Schools	Total Value High School Property
Bland.....	352	5,154	6	3	11	3	\$ 5,000
Buchanan.....	492	12,334	4	8	13	1	15,000
Carroll.....	445	21,119	8	6	74	1	23,000
Dickenson.....	324	9,199	5	13	39	2	10,000
Floyd.....	383	14,092	12	8	59	1	4,500
Giles.....	349	11,623	12	10	21	4	30,000
Grayson.....	438	19,856	13	11	95	8	50,000
Lee.....	433	23,840	12	12	70	5	50,000
Montgomery.....	394	21,470	20	13	32	5	50,000
Pulaski.....	338	17,246	15	11	22	4	15,000
Russell.....	503	23,474	23	14	40	2	32,000
Scott.....	535	23,814	18	10	91	7	38,000
Smythe.....	444	26,326	12	6	21	5	50,000
Tazewell.....	557	24,946	33	27	34	5	67,500
Washington.....	605	39,077	25	20	87	15	50,000
Wise.....	413	34,162	21	41	67	7	140,000
Wythe.....	474	20,372	21	15	47	5	78,000
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>7479</b>	<b>342,001</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>814</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>\$708,000</b>

Since the number and the ability of professional men, especially of physicians and lawyers, forms a good index to the progressiveness of a county, the number following each of these professions

is given in the above table. The physicians included in the enumeration are graduates of medical schools and have passed the examination given by the State Medical Board of Examiners. Likewise, the lawyers included have passed the State Bar Examination, and the majority of them are university trained men and will compare favorably with the lawyers of any section of the state. Approximately, there is one physician for every thirteen hundred, and one lawyer for every fifteen hundred of population.

The high school figures were obtained from division superintendents of schools and from the high school report issued in 1910 by Dr. Payne, of the University of Virginia. Normal School data were obtained from the report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The schools referred to here are recognized state high schools, and the majority of them prepare their pupils for college entrance. In these schools, with two exceptions, elementary work is given, but the entire time of from one to five teachers in each school is devoted to high school work. The term of all schools having high school departments is eight or nine months, and the course of study is that outlined by the State Board of Education. Practically all the high school principals are men holding A. B. degrees from good colleges, while the teaching force usually consists of women who have had either college or normal training. In addition to the work given in the state high schools, many district schools give one and two years of high school training.

The majority of the high school buildings are constructed according to modern plans. The above estimate of their value is very conservative. Similar property in the city or away from a section having abundant building material would be valued at something like double the value given in the table.

In the three Summer Normal Schools held each year in this part of Virginia, the teachers receive training under those who stand among the educational leaders of the state. I have been unable to get complete recent data with respect to the elementary schools, but the large attendance at the Normals strongly indicates a progressive educational spirit. A very large percentage of all the women teachers have received training in the State Normal Schools at Farmville and Harrisonburg.

TABLE No. 2

## COLLEGES

[Information obtained from the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1911. Some deficiencies in this report have been supplied from other sources.]

COLLEGES		No. of Faculty	No. of Students	Value of Property
MALE:	Emory and Henry College.....	13	226	\$208,579
	Virginia Polytechnic Institute.....	49	500	683,750
FEMALE:	Sullens College.....	26	284	125,000
	Intermont College.....	74	725	176,000
	Martha Washington College.....	20	173	125,000
	Stonewall Jackson Institute.....	14	102	66,500
	Marion Female Institute.....	....	....	60,000

Dr. Abbot's reference to Berea College as "a light held aloft in a dark place" illustrates a common mistake made by sincere men who assert that the education of the mountain boys and girls depends predominantly upon the mountain mission schools. Such institutions as we have mentioned are vigorous and growing, have the confidence and respect of the people, and are doing most effective work in higher education in the mountain districts.

TABLE No. 3

## MINISTERS IN CHARGE OF CHURCHES

[Data obtained from ministers of the various denominations.]

COUNTIES	N. E.	South	M. S.	Baptist	Presby- terian	Christ'n Sci.	Lutheran
Bland.....	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
Buchanan.....	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
Carroll.....	3	2	1	1	1	0	0
Dickenson.....	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
Floyd.....	2	3	0	0	0	1	1
Giles.....	4	2	1	3	1	3	1
Grayson.....	7	3	0	0	0	0	0
Lee.....	7	3	1	2	0	0	0
Montgomery.....	7	2	4	1	2	2	2
Pulaski.....	5	2	2	3	1	0	0
Russell.....	5	4	0	0	0	0	0
Scott.....	5	2	1	0	0	0	0
Smythe.....	8	4	2	0	0	2	2
Tazewell.....	11	3	3	7	2	2	2
Washington.....	7	9	8	3	3	3	3
Wise.....	9	4	2	1	0	0	0
Wythe.....	8	3	1	2	3	0	0
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>16</b>		

In addition to the denominations represented in the above table, other church organizations, each having from two to twelve pastors working in various localities, are the Methodist Episcopal, German Baptist, Episcopal, Holiness, and the Catholic. The Primitive Baptist Church has a large following in three or four counties, but we do not know the number of ministers belonging to this organization. Approximately, this mountain section has one minister for every eleven hundred people. These ministers are fairly well distributed throughout the district, no part of which is unevangelized. The annual conference reports for 1910 show the following financial data of the M. E. Church, South, in this territory: Churches, 386; value of churches, \$657,570; parsonages, 77; value of parsonages, \$185,500; money raised for various church purposes, \$243,766.

TABLE No. 4

## BANKING

[Figures taken from a bankers' directory (*Credit Company of Chicago and Illinois*) for 1912. In a few instances, corrections have been made so as to conform to recent changes.]

COUNTIES	No. of Banks	Paid-Up Capital	Surplus	Deposits
Bland .....	1	\$ 11,000	\$ 17,000	\$ 65,000
Buchanan.....	1	25,000	11,000	125,000
Carroll.....	2	48,000	38,200	189,000
Dickenson.....	1	25,000	25,000	150,000
Floyd .....	2	55,000	44,000	223,000
Giles.....	5	79,000	38,100	386,000
Grayson .....	4	145,000	21,800	393,000
Lee .....	4	75,000	58,300	386,000
Montgomery.....	6	232,000	217,000	1,134,500
Pulaski.....	4	139,000	106,100	674,000
Russell.....	4	115,000	34,500	363,000
Scott .....	3	73,500	30,400	493,000
Smythe .....	4	146,000	166,000	609,000
Tazewell.....	7	350,000	200,000	1,200,000
Washington*.....	10	575,000	319,400	3,083,000
Wise .....	6	275,000	123,000	1,126,000
Wythe .....	6	170,000	141,400	689,000
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>\$2,623,500</b>	<b>\$1,387,700</b>	<b>\$10,355,000</b>

\*Including Bristol City, which is partly in Tennessee.

TABLE No. 5  
RURAL MAIIS, PHONES AND RAILROADS

[Data as to mails obtained from Department of Rural Mails; that pertaining to phones taken from tax book of the Virginia Corporation Commission. Miles of railroad were calculated from railway time-tables.]

COUNTIES	MAILS			No. Miles Phone Wire	No. Miles Railroad
	No. Star Routes	No. R. F. D. Routes	Total		
Bland.....	4	5	139	10	
Buchanan.....	12	0	51	15	
Carroll.....	12	17	747	35	
Dickenson.....	15	0	75	0	
Floyd.....	7	22	534	0	
Giles.....	7	3	337	70	
Grayson.....	14	22	25	10	
Lee.....	4	23	429	100	
Montgomery.....	9	9	836	75	
Pulaski.....	4	11	697	45	
Russell.....	11	12	210	50	
Scott.....	7	13	158	80	
Smythe.....	5	18	335	37	
Tazewell.....	12	10	437	54	
Washington.....	5	19	1,421	72	
Wise.....	9	4	862	85	
Wythe.....	1	17	762	58	
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>8,055</b>	<b>796</b>	

This table forcibly contradicts the loosely made assertions that south-west Virginia has no commercial facilities and no means of finding out what is going on in the world.

Rural free delivery and star mail routes penetrate nearly every nook of this section. According to government regulation, the 205 rural carriers must handle at least 615,000 pieces of mail each month. This amount is greatly augmented by the 138 daily star routes. The fact is not to be overlooked that all the leading towns get their mail by railway service.

The community without phone service is rare, indeed. The figures given in the table refer to chartered lines only. Besides these, there are hundreds of miles of private lines which connect with the lines of chartered companies. Thus, in Grayson county there are only twenty-five miles of phone line owned by a chartered company, yet an investigation reveals the fact that there are about thirty-five hundred phones in the county.

Five great railway systems enter this section, namely: the Norfolk & Western, Virginian, Southern, Louisville & Nashville, and the Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio. The table includes only passenger lines. Lumber and mineral roads are numerous in some sections.

So far, I have let statistical facts refute the many unfounded assertions concerning the Virginia mountaineers. But, since some things cannot be told in figures, a few general remarks, based on thirty years' experience in this section, may not be amiss. However, I shall make no attempt to describe minutely the mountaineer, to enumerate what he eats and drinks, nor to say where-withal he is clothed. For any description of the mountain-folk of Virginia as a homogeneous people of a single type is misleading. There are many classes of mountaineers, the rich and the poor, the good and the bad, the learned and the ignorant, the cultured and the boorish. Where is a section of country of which this is not true?

The "typical home" of the "mountain whites," the rough and ill-kept cabin, which appears so often in current literature, is preposterous. Such may be a typical cabin, although the unrepresentative, the worst cabin of all, is usually shown; but cabins constitute only a small percentage of the homes. Beautiful dwellings, worth from two thousand to five thousand dollars, are in most every community, while residences costing from five thousand to twenty thousand and even thirty thousand dollars are not at all uncommon. How absurdly false, then, is the statement that "There is being a general uplift through the establishment . . . of model homes of missionaries through this region by many of the home boards of Northern churches."

The colonial household articles, which are said to be in every well-stocked mountain home, can scarcely be found at all. Those who are fortunate enough to possess them, value them, not as articles of common use, but as heirlooms. The classic spinning wheel, the reel, the bake-oven, and the candle moulds, which are so familiar in literature, have, except in rare instances, become relics of the past, and the mountain children know of their use only through stories told them by their parents and grandparents. It is true that there are scattered here and there, individuals who own and operate the hand-loom in order to supply

with home-woven carpets many who prefer this kind to any other, though more costly modern coverings are in general use. In my day I have never known of the hand-loom being used for any other purpose.

Improved farm machinery—mowers, rakes, grain drills, and reapers—are in common use everywhere. Of course, many of the leading farmers have mountain lands where these machines cannot be operated, yet, for the most part, such land serves for grazing purposes, the valley land only being cultivated. In some sections, where mining and lumbering are the chief industries, can be seen little patches of corn and garden truck which are cultivated with small though not primitive tools. Such cultivation represents the avocational rather than the vocational farmer. The same thing is true of the border land of good farming communities where dwells the laborer on his little plot of ground which he takes pride in cultivating. Yet, in the main, he obtains his living from the nearby farmer for whom he works.

The poor of the Virginia mountains have opportunities as good as, perhaps better than, the poor of the cities. Poverty, squalor, and degradation, such as one can see in the slums of any large city, is very uncommon among the mountain people of Virginia. There, the poor are not segregated. All classes attend the same churches and the same schools. The farmer sits at the table with his laborers, and all partake of the same kinds of food. The land-owner and the tenant visit and mingle with each other on terms approaching equality. Under these conditions, poverty is not so galling nor such a barrier to those aspiring to better their fortunes.

To the statement, that "The moral relations of the sexes are scarcely more sacred than among the lower animals," I have no statistics to offer in refutation. I merely enter a protest that such assertions are vile and slanderous. If there is any one virtue in which the mountain people excel, it is in the high standard of morality which pervades the sex relationship. Race purity is, likewise, zealously preserved. The cohabitation of whites and negroes would not be tolerated by the whites of the remotest mountain sections.

Many uncomplimentary remarks have been made concerning the character of the religion and the worship of the people. Re-

ligion is said to be the propelling force actuating the feudist and the "moonshiner." This is false. These classes, while in no sense atheistic, constitute the worst element of mountain society and have nothing to do with church work. The ministry, on the whole, are educated, enlightened, and progressive. The emotional revival, whether for better or worse, is rapidly passing away. Just a word about the Primitive Baptists, who are quite numerous in a few counties, and who have been the targets for many darts. Their religious beliefs we will not discuss. As a people, they are plain and simple in habits and noted as law-abiding citizens. Many of their ministers are men of ability and occupy prominent positions in their localities.

As yet, only slight reference has been made to that important character, the "moonshiner." From the publicity given him, it is no wonder that the belief is abroad that Virginia mountaineer and "moonshiner" are synonymous terms. The truth is, the temperance sentiment in the mountain sections is as strong, or stronger, than in any other part of the state. In these seventeen counties, whisky is legally sold in only three towns, and in one of these the will of the people, as expressed at the polls, was overruled by a legal technicality. The anti-saloon sentiment is said to be a result of competition between the saloon-keeper and the illicit distiller. This is not true. The prohibitionist is no friend of the "moonshiner." By most of the people, whisky drinking is condemned, regardless of whether it is made legally or illegally. However, illicit distilling in a few counties is common, not that the citizen-body uphold it, but because the mountain glens offer favorable retreats for the few who wish to carry on this unlawful occupation.

Recent history shows that this part of Virginia has been furnishing her quota of the prominent men of the state. This "outlaw" section gave five prominent generals to the Confederate army, namely: Generals J. E. B. Stuart, William E. Jones, John B. Floyd, William Terry and James A. Walker. Since the war, this "lawless" region has continuously been represented on the bench of the State Supreme Court, Judges Stapleton, Richardson, Phelgar and Buchanan having held this position. During the same period this mountain section has produced four attorney-generals, namely: Taylor, Blair, Ayers, and Williams; three lieu-

tenant-governors: Walker, Kent, and Tyler; and one governor: J. Hoge Tyler. One of the men most prominently suggested as next governor is Henry C. Stuart, a mountaineer. At one time, both United States senators of Virginia—Judge John A. Johnston and Colonel Robert E. Wythers—were from southwest Virginia. Dr. George Ben Johnston, perhaps the best known surgeon of Virginia, is a product of her mountain soil.

Since this is a mountain region and highway construction costly, there are many rough, bad roads. But, the fact that there are two hundred and five rural mail routes in these seventeen counties, is sufficient to convince any reasonable person that trails are not the only mountain highways. For the government regulation as to the establishment of rural routes is: "It is required that the roads traversed by rural routes be in good condition, unobstructed by gates, unless such gates are made to open automatically; that there be no unbridged creeks or streams not fordable at all seasons of the year." That the people are alive on the good roads question, is indicated in the report of the Virginia Highway Commission for 1912, which shows that of \$3,853,000.00 of bond issues for highway improvement in the state \$2,484,000.00 is accredited to the mountain counties which we are studying. Since this report was made, about \$500,000.00 more has been voted by these counties for the same purpose.

According to the census of 1910, there are in this section 33,431 native white illiterates, or, approximately, one person out of every ten is classed as illiterate. This is a bad showing, but strikingly different from Fox's assertion—"that few mountaineers can read and write." This illiteracy is due to past, not to present, conditions. Because the state had no free school system until 1870, and because of the impoverished conditions and local strife growing out of the Civil War, the mountain youth for more than a quarter of a century had little opportunity to secure even an elementary education. That the high rate of illiteracy is an inheritance of the past, surviving in the old and middle-aged, is indicated by the fact that, though the population is rapidly increasing, the number of illiterates, with the passing of the older generation, is gradually growing smaller. Thus, the population of the section increased more than fifty-four thousand from 1900

to 1910, yet the number of illiterates during this period decreased more than four thousand.

After talking to a friend in a strain very similar to that in which I have been writing, he amused me by saying: "What you tell me may be true; but you have not told about the real mountaineers." He could not be made to believe but that in large territories the predominating type of manhood is he of the coonskin cap, dressed in home-spun, and carrying his favorite companion, the old mountain rifle.

To the dubious reader, let me say that I have not avoided the real question, but have taken as a basis a block of territory commonly referred to as the abode of the "uneducated," the "uncivilized," and the "lawless." In applying the term mountaineer to all the inhabitants of the section, I have merely adopted the common usage. I have refrained from describing *the typical character*, because he does not exist. But to satisfy the doubting Thomas, I will say that there is a low stratum of society, representatives of which can be found in almost any neighborhood. Here are ignorant and worthless human beings, but they are not cut off from civilizing influences; even the few who are scattered here and there in the mountain coves, are within easy reach of schools and churches.

Dickenson and Buchanan are the most mountainous, and, in development, the most backward counties of this region; yet, a census made of Clintwood, a village in Dickenson, twenty-five miles from the railroad, and having a population of three hundred and forty people, revealed the fact that sixteen per cent. of its adult population were college and university graduates. Six of this number hold degrees from the University of Virginia, and among other schools represented are: University of Chicago, University of Ohio, William and Mary College, and State Normal School at Farmville. Practically the same conditions prevail at Grundy, in Buchanan county. In this little mountain hamlet reside ministers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, and business men, not only college-trained but possessing culture and the spirit of progress in a high degree.

If the popular conception of Virginia mountain life does not correspond to the actual facts, then arises the question: Why these misconceptions? An intimate relation to the section and people

of whom I write, and a careful study of many things which have been said and written about them, have convinced me that, whether followed through ignorance or otherwise, unscholarly methods of study account for much of the false information that has been disseminated.

The first unscientific method to be noticed is that of describing past conditions and ascribing these conditions to the present. Many who write and speak of this section, base their assertions on old antiquated jokes and stories told by our fathers years ago, and upon works of fiction which refer to conditions long since past. Much stress is laid upon Fox's novels in their characterization of this section and its people. No account is taken of the fact that the time of the *Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* dates back to and before the Civil War, and that the *Trail of the Lonesome Pine* carries us back twenty-five years. What can be more unscientific than the acceptance of highly colored descriptions of persons and events of more than a quarter of a century ago as applicable to the present? There has been a persistent refusal to recognize the prodigious strides made in industrial, and consequently in other, lines of development during the last twenty-five or thirty years, and the blind assertion is made that "They live just as they did a hundred years ago." An example of this was seen at the missionary exposition in Baltimore, where the *Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* was advertised as one of the most popular missionary books of the day.

The extent to which one may be misled by this judging of the present by the past may be seen by a comparison of the school system of Wise county twenty-three years ago with the system of today. Then there were about thirty schools in the county and about the same number of teachers. The schools were taught in rough log buildings, and the total school fund was \$7,000. Now, according to the superintendent's report, there are seventy-seven schools, employing one hundred and sixty-one teachers. The buildings are modern, several of them having cost from twenty to thirty-five thousand dollars each. For the year ending September, 1911, the total sum spent on schools in the county was \$116,649.91. Similar advances have been made along other lines.

Again, in describing mountain conditions there has been much generalizing from few particulars. The picturesque, the unique, and the uncommon persons and things are thrown on the screen of publicity as "typical." A Virginia "moonshiner" kills a revenue officer. Newspapers would have one believe that all the mountain people are "moonshiners." The people of a large section of country are denounced because of the crime of an individual. When the Allens shot up the Hillsboro court, three million people were condemned for the act; but when the gunmen of New York City killed Herman Rosenthal, only those intimately connected with the crime were censured.

The question arises: Are these false deductions and conclusions arising from unscientific methods of procedure the outcome of ignorance or of unscrupulous misrepresentations? This is a delicate question; but I do not hesitate in saying that both ignorance and dishonesty have played a part.

In addition to those who write ignorantly about what they have neither seen nor heard, different classes of persons continually visit the mountains and keep alive the old stories concerning the life there. To three classes of these, we will give some attention: (1) the newspaper reporter and the magazine writer, (2) the civil engineer and the prospector, (3) the so-called mountain missionary.

The newspaper reporter from abroad visits the mountains after some extraordinary crime. He knows the popular conception of mountain life and what his readers are expecting. He improves his opportunity by displaying his imaginative powers and giving the world some startling news.

When the storm center has passed away and while the echoes of the newspaper article still linger, the magazine writer arrives on the scene to investigate the conditions which have led to such a crime. He, too, wants to give his readers something to feast upon. He knows what he wants to write, but he must appear to make an investigation. In the mountains, as elsewhere, it is easy to find what one is looking for. A production more literary than the newspaper article appears. It is the same old story of a people a century behind the times.

Many tales of hair-breadth escapes from the "moonshiner" and of the uncivilized life among the mountains come from engineers and prospectors who frequent the mountain section. They usu-

ally come into contact only with the few who live in or near the mountains. Often, perhaps, they describe life as they believe it to be from what they see; but they do not see enough to judge correctly. However, the following incident which came under my observation less than a year ago shows that the stories circulated by the engineer and the prospector are not always true.

An engineer corps boarded at a refined and cultured home in a progressive community. Into this home came regularly a leading daily newspaper and some four or five leading magazines. Imagine the landlady's surprise and chagrin, after her boarders had departed, when she came across an open, unmailed letter, a part of which read something like this: "Tell me what is going on in the world. What has become of the Allens? You know we never see a newspaper or magazine up here."

Are the reports given out by those working in, or investigating, the region as a mission field also unreliable? Yes; they make mistakes similar to those made by others, and some of them grossly misrepresent the true situation. So-called missionaries, working in Tennessee and Kentucky, do not hesitate to describe Virginia mountain life, though they have never been there. If newspaper reports be true, a lady connected with the recent Baltimore missionary exposition sent an appeal to Governor Mann in behalf of the Allens, asking him to pardon them because they had never had any religious or civilizing influences and were not to be judged by the same standards as other people.

Many methods used by some school and church people to awaken sympathy and to obtain money at the North are dishonorable and contemptible. Here is a story which did not occur in Virginia, but it illustrates my point. This story was told me by an educated and responsible minister, and I vouch for it.

A missionary of the Northern Presbyterian Church was working in Cumberland county, Tennessee. He regularly preached at several places, including Grassy Branch, one of the best communities in the county. Nearly all the people there own their homes and live in comfort. In this neighborhood are three churches—Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian. Another minister connected with Maryville College visited him in order to go over a part of his work. Instead of following the public road through Grassy Cove—a fine community—they took a path around the

side of the cove—no doubt to deceive the visiting clergyman—and went to the home of a family known as the most careless and indifferent family in the whole community. This family lived in a log house, satisfied with few comforts and conveniences, though they could have lived much better had they tried. These two ministers came to this home unexpectedly and asked the privilege of taking a picture of the house and family, with the request that the family would not change their clothes. This picture was to be used in the north to illustrate the life of the "Mountain Whites," the object being to raise money.

This is not at all an extreme case. Many who profess to teach others the way of life are very active in slandering a country and its people. They secure the most uninviting pictures possible, as well as out of date household utensils and articles of clothing found only in garrets. We have already seen for what purpose these are used. One might as well judge Fifth Avenue life in New York from the worst scenes obtainable on the East Side as to judge Virginia mountain life by photographs of scenes not typical but very, very rare.

Another common mistake is the misuse of the term mission field as applied to this territory. Is a country which is completely evangelized and well supplied with good churches and educated ministers to be classed as a mission field because certain denominations do not happen to be strong in that particular region, and, in order to maintain ministers, must supplement their salaries from mission funds? Practically all the appeals for mission money and mission workers for the "mountain whites" come from religious organizations which have very little foothold in the Virginia mountains. Too often is the mission money supplied by northern churches used to build churches where churches are plentiful rather than to give the gospel to those who have it not.

With the rapid development of the mountain resources, new towns are springing up, and in such towns help is needed in keeping the church abreast of the times. But this assistance can best be given by those church bodies which are well established in the mountains, and which are ever ready and alert to extend the gospel. New York City has her mission churches, and it would be folly for the church organizations of the Virginia mountains to

send special missionaries to New York to organize and run city mission churches separate and distinct from the work being done by the New York churches. Just so it is not necessary for New York, Boston or any section of country to send missionaries to southwest Virginia.

In this Virginia territory there are no real mission schools. Several denominations have colleges, and the Missionary Baptists and Presbyterians have some preparatory schools. These schools are the results of the efforts of local enterprising citizens under the direction of their respective churches, which, through their educational boards, give some assistance. If these be mission schools, then all denominational schools are mission schools.

If aid is to come from outside, let it be given to the established colleges of the section that they may keep pace with the great onward march of education. Their endowments must come largely from outside sources, for, while there are wealthy farmers and grazers in the district, there are no financial magnates. To say that our colleges are greatly handicapped from lack of endowment does not mean that they are not doing a great work, and that our people are ignorant and unprogressive. Some of the greatest educational institutions of the country find it necessary to make special campaigns in order to secure sufficient endowments. Although Johns Hopkins University, University of Virginia, Randolph-Macon College, and Goucher College have made such campaigns, no one thinks of calling them mission schools.

It has been my purpose to correct wrong impressions, not to laud the mountain people. They have great social, religious, and educational problems to solve, but these problems, while perhaps in some respects different from, are not greater than the problems which confront the people of other sections of our country. The mountain population have neither crowning virtues nor peculiar vices which strikingly differentiate them from other rural Americans.

## Contemporary British Criticism of the Fourteenth Amendment

CHARLES WALLACE COLLINS

Author of "The Fourteenth Amendment and the States."

Among the prohibitions relative to the powers of the proposed Irish legislature in Mr. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill (The Government of Ireland Bill of 1893) appeared the following clause:

"The powers of the Irish Legislature shall not extend to the making of any law whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law in accordance with settled principles and precedents, or may be denied the equal protection of the laws, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation." (Ibid. Subsection 8 of Section 4. The quotation is from the bill as it came from the committee. As originally introduced it lacked the words, "in accordance with settled principles and precedents." None of these provisions appeared among the restrictions in Mr. Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill in 1886.)

These words were taken almost verbatim from that part of Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which reads as follows:

" . . . . nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

At that time, in 1893, when this clause came up for debate in the House of Commons, it was of course put forward as a Government measure. The Irish Nationalists opposed it on the ground that it would seriously cripple the Irish Legislature. The Opposition also opposed it for the very different reason that it was too vague a limitation to effect the proper protection to the individual and property rights of the minority. Prof. A. V. Dicey, one of the most learned opponents of Home Rule for Ireland, gave voice to these criticisms of the Unionists in the following language:

"On the Restrictions it were easy to write an elaborate treatise. Should our new constitution ever come into force, they will give

rise to a whole series of judgments, and to lengthy books explanatory thereof. No lawyer will venture to predict what for instance may be the interpretation placed by the courts on such expressions as "due process of law," "just compensation" and the like, and it is more than doubtful whether the so-called safeguards are so expressed as to carry out the intention of their authors, or, even in words, adequately to protect either the authority of the Imperial Parliament or the rights of individuals." (*A Leap in the Dark* by A. V. Dicey. London. 1893. p. 81.)

In passing from the ill-fated Home Rule Bill of 1893 to Mr. Asquith's Home Rule Bill of 1912 (Government of Ireland Bill; ordered to be printed by the House of Commons April 16, 1912; Bill 136) we cover comparatively a wide stretch of time during which there were many important developments both in this country and in Great Britain. It is significant that the Government introduced the Bill in 1912 without those clauses copied from our Constitution to which we have made reference above. However, when on October 22, 1912, there came up for debate Clause 3, prohibiting the Irish Parliament from interfering with religious freedom, Mr. Astor, of the Opposition, proposed to add to it the following amendment, providing that the Irish Parliament shall not make any law

"Whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law in accordance with settled principles and precedents, or may be denied the equal protection of the laws, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation."

This amendment is the same as the provision in the Government bill of 1893. But on this occasion it was as vehemently opposed by the Government as it was advocated by the Opposition. In the long debate which followed, that which is of peculiar interest to Americans is that the principles of a very vital portion of the Constitution of the United States were under fire. These we shall now examine with some degree of particularity.

All told about twenty speeches were made pro and con. Among those of the Opposition who spoke for the amendment were Sir Edward Carson and Mr. A. Bonar Law. It is worthy of note that the advocates of this amendment at this time were the most bitter opponents of Home Rule for Ireland.

The arguments of the Opposition followed chiefly the following lines of thought: That these words were needed in the Irish Constitution to protect the liberties and the property of the Unionist minority in Ireland. These latter are chiefly located in Ulster. There was fear of religious persecution by Protestants both in Ulster and in the South. There was fear that laws would be made to harass the landlords, although under the bill the Irish land still remained under the control of the Imperial Parliament. These men therefore wished to insert these clauses so that any person in Ireland, who might think an act of the Irish Parliament unjust, would have the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council at London under the questions of "due process of law" or "equal protection of the laws," just as appeals may be had in the United States by any person in a State to the Supreme Court at Washington.

In discussing the history of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment and the operation of its restraint clauses, the arguments of the Opposition were highly idealistic and *a priori*, showing little acquaintance with the true situation over here. One of the chief grounds they proposed for incorporating these clauses into the Home Rule Bill was that after an experience of two generations the United States saw fit to adopt them as their mature and deliberate judgment, and further that in the United States they had operated with such success as to have given no cause for complaint! The true purpose of the Opposition was of course to kill the Home Rule Bill, and so much the better if they could do it under the guise of benevolence. They must have known—at any rate the Government certainly did know—that in the United States the Fourteenth Amendment operates against Home Rule and in favor of paternalism.

When the Government was twitted for a complete change of front, having themselves proposed these very clauses in 1893, the very practical reply was made that the Government had more sense now than then, having learned something during the intervening nineteen years. It had. This is quite evident from their speeches, although a closer study of the history of the operation of the Fourteenth Amendment in our courts would have greatly strengthened their arguments.

It is not our desire in any way to attempt here to go into the merits of this controversy, except in so far as they are related to the Constitution of the United States. But we do desire to study these English criticisms of our Constitution. They are contemporaneous with our own struggles over these very questions and they come from the very highest authorities in the British Empire—from the Government themselves. Perchance we too may learn something.

Mr. Astor having spoken at length in favor of the amendment, Sir John Simon, the Solicitor-General, then took the floor. Admitting that this was "one of the fundamental propositions of the United States," in an able speech—full of dignity and patient moderation—he made among others the following observations:

"We do regard it as a serious thing to introduce into the Bill matters which, it seems to us, are not really susceptible to judicial examination, which would undoubtedly increase the amount of litigation and disputes, and which really would not lead ultimately, as it seems to us, to definiteness and precision in the powers of this Parliament, but, on the contrary, would raise a series of very grave and very difficult questions, the precise arising of which it is very difficult indeed to prophesy. I say, quite frankly, that it is not possible for me to know, and I do not think it is possible for anybody, however carefully they consider it,—I do not think it is possible for anybody to say now how, in time to come, a limitation of this sort may raise disputes and how inconvenient, and it may be absurd, it would turn out to be." (Parliamentary Debates. October 22, 1912. Col. 2078.)

Mr. John Ward, of the Labour Party, in opposing this amendment, painted a rather lurid picture of the social and economic conditions in the United States, due to the operation of these very restraint clauses in the Fourteenth Amendment. Speaking thus of these restraints upon legislation for the benefit of labor and the betterment of industrial conditions, he said:

"That is the cause of the terrible condition of affairs in the United States and to suggest that words ("due process of law" and "equal protection of the laws") which have played such havoc in the matter of industrial conditions there should be enacted here, after the forty years' terrible experience of social reformers in the United States, is one of the most astounding propositions imagin-

able! I suggest that the Labour Members ought to take more notice of this Amendment than of any other on this paper. The whole future of industrial democracy in Ireland is at stake."

To most of us these words no doubt appear a trifle too strong. But it must be remembered that they were spoken at the very time when our own orators were on the war path, so to speak, during our last presidential campaign. They appear mild by the side of some of the denunciations of these conditions by some of our own leaders.

There were on this occasion several other protests against putting these clauses into the Irish Constitution, the most notable of which was that of Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister. After discussing briefly the history of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and commenting on the absence of these words from the colonial constitutions of the British Empire, he spoke as follows:

"The language here used, sanctioned as I agree it is by the precedent of the United States of America, is language full of ambiguity, abounding in pitfalls, and certainly provocative of every kind of frivolous litigation. Look at the adjectives used. What are "settled principles"? What is "equal protection of the law"? What is "just compensation"? In every one of these cases you have adjectives. . . . They are really matters of opinion, bias, or inclination and judgment which cannot be acted on under anything like settled rules of law as to whether or not in any particular case equality or fairness, some abstract, some probably very varying standard of equality or fairness, has or has not been observed. I cannot imagine any subject in which unnecessary and gratuitous litigation would be more readily invited, or in regard to which the decisions of the tribunals would be received with less general respect and authority." Then, although disclaiming any intention of intruding into the domestic controversies of the United States of America, he earnestly besought his colleagues to hesitate before placing such fetters as these on the Irish Parliament.

The other speeches for the Government were of this same tenor. Mr. Munro-Ferguson, in closing the debate for the Government, made the following remark: "This is a very interesting Amendment and the Government has done well in resisting it. It raises

the broadest constitutional question, and the particular case of Ireland. The matter raised by the Amendment is one which is being argued with great vehemence in America at the present time. . . . We find in America, where these words, or practically the same, are in the Constitution, that the gravest difficulties have resulted from that part of the Constitution."

When the question was put, the proposed amendment was lost by a vote of 197 to 299.

By clause 28 of the Home Rule Bill of 1912 appeals from courts in Ireland to the House of Lords are abolished and all appeals, where any right of appeal exists, must be made to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council sitting in London. Now if this amendment were adopted, the Judicial Committee would bear a relationship to the Irish courts similar to that of the Supreme Court of the United States to the state courts. That is to say that any person could in any court of competent jurisdiction raise the question of the constitutionality of any statute—be it even entirely local in its operation—on the grounds of a denial of "due process of law" or "equal protection of the laws", and thus gain in any case the right of appeal to the highest tribunal of the nation. There are however some important and practical distinctions to be made. The Supreme Court of the United States is composed of men selected from the states. They sit in the United States. It is bad enough that local questions from the state can be brought up before them at Washington under these vague clauses. But this is a milder form of paternalism than would result from these same clauses in the Home Rule Bill.

The Judicial Committee is composed of Englishmen. They sit in London separated from Ireland, not only by sixty miles of water, but by centuries of hatred, prejudice, and misunderstanding; by the deep rooted feeling on the one side that there has been oppression and grave injustice, and on the other the fear that retaliation might follow freedom to act. The forces in Ireland now opposed to Home Rule would be far more eager, far more subtle and adroit, to take advantage of these pretexts of appeal to England than are such forces in America to claim protection under the Fourteenth Amendment. It is true that with a Supreme Court at Washington antagonistic to local government, the Fourteenth Amendment could be used to paralyze the state legis-

latures. But at present the tendency is somewhat the other way. Our chief danger in this regard is one of potentiality. So also a Judicial Committee in London, composed of Englishmen out of sympathy with Home Rule, could under these clauses of "due process" and "equal protection" practically annul every act of the Irish Parliament. Such a situation could more easily arise there than here.

It were well if we Americans could take these criticisms of our Constitution to heart. They are not overdrawn. They could have been made even stronger. The writer has several times attempted to point out that the Fourteenth Amendment has a logical place in our Constitution only on the basis of the principle of paternalism.\* It is the very antithesis of Home Rule. It is based on a principle opposite from that of local self government. It gives to an absentee court the power to pass upon the validity of the local legislation of a community of which it forms no part.

There are many among us who think with all sincerity that this is the proper way to protect the rights of a dissenting minority. There are some who believe that a benevolent despotism is after all the best form of government. There is a clear distinction between these two schools of thought. The issue is plain. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman struck at the very root of the matter when he once said, "Good government is no substitute for self government." In the last analysis every true democrat must submit to this acid test. Moreover this is good Jeffersonian doctrine. Democracy and Home Rule go hand in hand. The application of this principle gives to communities the right to make their own mistakes in local affairs and allows them to abide by the consequences. They do not have to look afar off to some supervisory power for help. They must trust to their own strength, taking counsel from others only as they choose. What more inspiring vision than this! To see a people rooted to their own soil, waxing strong and proud and free, because with their own hands they build for themselves! What schools of patriotism these local communities become! What storehouses of manly strength in these social groups! Surely there is enough in our own history to give us faith.

\*See *American Law Review*, December 1911; *Yale Law Journal*, April 1912; *South Atlantic Quarterly*, April 1912; and *Columbia Law Review*, November 1912. See also his *Fourteenth Amendment and the States*. Little, Brown, and Co. Boston. 1912.

The method by which the Fourteenth Amendment operates as a check to the independence of the state legislatures is almost entirely unknown to the great body of the American people. We do not study the affairs of government as much as we did in the olden days when we fought for our independence and every man knew for what we were fighting. We have grown big and rich *en masse*. We are busy with business. We are no longer so keen to grasp the basic principles which lie at the foundation of the civic life. We have little time for these things. Thus it has become hard now to awaken public interest to an appreciation of those incipient but no less virile forces of paternalism in our political life the which, if left altogether unchecked, may lead to the taking away of our heritage—the right, so dearly bought through centuries of struggle in England and in America, of local self government.

## Otto Ludwig—A Centenary Appreciation

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The author of the most poignant short novel in the world's literature is only a name to English-speaking people. To the majority even of cultured Americans he is probably not so much as that. We of the Anglo-Saxon West, with all our enterprise, have not that serious curiosity which keeps Otto Ludwig's countrymen busy at reading even the second-rate literary output of other countries. Germany is flooded with translated American books, from Emerson and Whitman to Nick Carter; but the only way for an American to come to know even the German masterpieces, many of them, at first hand, is to learn German,—a price which the average American is not willing to pay.

Otto Ludwig was born on the 11th of February, 1813, in the village of Eisfeld, near Meiningen, in Thuringia. His whole life, from the beginning, is a sad one. The prevailing tone of his one unperishable production, the novel "Between Heaven and Earth," is one of melancholy,—but neither the life nor the story has a touch of bitterness. The hero of the novel, and the hero of the struggle with disease and excessive conscientiousness which ended so wretchedly in 1865, are alike the sweetest of optimists. They find a sort of happiness in the accomplishment of a difficult task; and if the hero of the book is favored with a simpler problem, as book-heroes generally are, he is no more successful in its solution. "If it should be my fate," the earnest seeker after the law of literary perfection cries out in the midst of his "Shakespeare Studies,"—"to give my last remnant of strength to the search for a way, and then fail to tread it myself, my search may perhaps help others." He did not find the way, but his search,—or at best the manner of it, the unselfish earnestness of it, which yields in nothing to the earnestness of the world's great apostles,—had already helped many others and will come later to help more, as more come to know it. The legacy of a personality is not so often a gain to posterity that we can afford to slight this one.

The father, a civil official living a life embittered by an unjust judgment which had lost him fortune and reputation, died when Otto was a child, and the sickly, sensitive mother, who could not

allow her boy to leave her side long enough to secure an adequate education, died likewise before the boy had reached his majority. Employed in the shop of a coarse, prosperous uncle, a slave to the caprices of the uncle's half-insane housekeeper and mistress, looked upon by the neighbors as a weakling and a failure because he was not shrewd at driving a bargain, the orphan acquired the habit of retiring to his room, shutting out the world of Eisfeld, and passing his day in a self-created world of musical and artistic splendor,—a habit which left him weaponless in the stern battle with reality which even poets must fight. Like that kindred nature, our Southern American Sidney Lanier, he began as a musician,—and two mediocre operas interested the Duke of Meiningen and resulted in his receiving from that prince an annual stipend for three years, to be used in studying at Leipzig under Mendelssohn. But neither Leipzig nor Mendelssohn satisfied him, and his later life was a series of shuttlecock movements between the metropolis,—now Leipzig, now Dresden, now Meissen,—and village communities which were scarcely able to furnish him more congenial society, and were unwilling to leave him in grateful solitude.

But there is no bitterness in his attitude toward an uncongenial world. His criticisms of Schiller and Hebbel, unjust as they frequently are, are prompted by a sincere belief that they had built on false foundations. His pictures of village life, in the cheerful story "Heiteretei" and elsewhere, are warm with loving amusement at the foibles and drolleries of his peasant neighbors. His ideal protagonist—Apollonius in "Between Heaven and Earth," Juda in "The Maccabees,"—moves quietly on, as the poet himself tries to do, upholding the right as he sees the right, uncomplainingly undoing the evil which others have caused, requiting injuries and insults with generous efforts at proselytism, looking for no reward but the privilege of seeing his work well done.

He was thirty-six years old before that work secured an approach to general recognition. In 1849 he completed his pretentious tragedy "The Forester," and the Dresden manager Emil Devrient presented it to a public which grew wild with enthusiasm and made the author famous in a night. It is hard to see how a critic who could find nothing but error in the plan of Schiller's "fate-tragedies,"—and may we query in passing, was he

justified in stamping them so absolutely as "fate-tragedies"?—could himself have presented a play whose catastrophe is so entirely determined by accidents for which the personages are in no sense responsible. The leading character, the stern and conscientious old forester himself,—Ludwig's heroes are all conscientious to a degree that is pathological,—breaks with his friend and employer, the father of the young man who is engaged to marry his daughter, and refuses to surrender his position to the hunter whom the offended forest-owner has appointed to succeed him. The new forester is shot and killed by a poacher, and both the son of the owner and the son of the old forester are involved in the pursuit of the murderer. The poacher has stolen a gun belonging to one of the young men, which accident leads to a rumor that the two have taken up arms against each other in the quarrel of their fathers. Falsely informed that the lover of his daughter has shot his son, the old man sets out to avenge the murder, and by mistake shoots his own daughter. The crudest and most mechanical accumulation of horrors, one would infer from a bald statement of the plot; but the clearly-drawn picture of the terrible but lovable old man who is stern to his wife and daughter because the public weal demands that women be treated so, and implacable to his enemies because the Bible commands "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," but filled to the very lips with a love for his family which must not be spoken, and as free from hate or resentment as a new-born child,—the picture is remarkable, and even beautiful.

Then, a year or two later, comes the other great play, "*The Maccabees*," which handles a well-known historical incident, the most famous of Jewish rebellions. It is grandiose and imposing; the dauntless courage and single-hearted devotion of the young leader Juda, the hard, terrible heroism of his mother Lea, who sees her younger sons slain before her eyes rather than retract an iota of the faith of her fathers; and the gentler but no less noble spirit of the misunderstood and mistreated daughter-in-law,—here are three fine characters that claim our attention in turn, and perhaps confuse a little the impression that one strong, central figure, like the forester, for example, might have been able to leave.

But words fail before the mingled majesty and intensity of Apollonius Nettenmair's life history. "Between Heaven and Earth" is no longer a play;—this life-long student of the drama proves himself incomparably greater at epic narrative. No one who has not read this quiet story of a family injustice, which grows slowly into a thrilling tragedy and then dies away into calm restraint again, knows the depths to which a writer of mere fiction can probe the soul. We are reminded of Scott's enthusiastic admission that though he could do things "in a big bow-wow way," Jane Austen could reach the heart as effectively without his pretentious expedients,—except that Jane Austen's most vivid pictures are pale beside this one. Where is the hero so calculated to enlist the reader's sympathy as poor Apollonius himself, cheated out of the possession of the girl he loved by his loud and unscrupulous brother Fritz, passing his youth in exile because he implicitly believes that brother's assurance that his wife cannot endure the sight of her brother-in-law, and, when he discovers at last that he has been miserably tricked, devoting the remainder of his life without a word to saving the broken fortunes of the brother and his family? Where is a study of slow moral lapse equal in delicacy and justice to this view of the jovial Fritz, whose love makes him dishonest, whose first deceit grows to an elaborate system of scoundrelism which becomes a life-work, whose jealousy makes him a sot, a murderer, and, in that scene on the church tower which makes the heart stop beating, a miserable suicide? There are discoveries of mental operations which make the book worthy of a place as a text on psychology,—Fritz, for example, has planned the murder of his successful rival in his wife's affections, and already in his mind's eyes sees him lying dead before him; and not until then, knowing that he must die, does he feel a touch of compassion for him and the wish that he might live. Or recall the scene where Apollonius, feeling himself drawn by a sinful inclination for the wife of another, instinctively pushes his brother's child between himself and his brother's wife.

But the Nemesis is here, as in the "Forester." Here is the "partial responsibility" that critics find in Ludwig's literary aversion, Schiller,—sin mighty punished, and falling with crushing weight on the sinner's innocent associates. A fatality hangs over the "house with the green shutters,"—the inspiration, it must be, of

the grewsome fate-tragedy of that name by the young Scotch novelist George Douglas,—and it is presented to our bodily eyes again and again in the form of a restless spirit that walks when sinners and sinned against lie asleep or unsuspecting.

"Between Heaven and Earth" is the last book of Ludwig's worth mentioning, although he lived and worked industriously,—or as faithfully at least as the physical ailment allowed which made it impossible for him to assume a sitting posture and gradually paralyzed his whole body,—for a dozen years longer. A lover of paradox might successfully maintain the thesis that the greatest English dramatist ruined the career of him who was potentially the greatest German dramatist; the directness of the antithesis is somewhat weakened by the fact that with all his theories and all his labors, Ludwig remained more a story-teller than a playwright. It was on the rock of his admiration for Shakespeare that this super-careful dogmatist and recluse, this most unlike Shakespeare of all his admirers, wrecked his craft. Set Walt Whitman to imitating Pope, or the reverse, and the result can scarcely be happy. A little less honesty, considerably more of independence, and a great deal more of self-assurance, might have given the world other books as powerful as the three for which Ludwig is remembered; but being what he was, he spent the last quarter of his life studying, proving, writing and destroying, undertaking and abandoning, and finished not one long work, good, bad or indifferent.

I have hazarded the suggestion that a little less of honesty might have increased the amount and success of his product; yet our reverence for his memory and our respect for his influence will scarcely allow us to wish for a weakening of his characteristic virtue. There is cheap vulgarity now and then in his master Shakespeare; there is uncandid trifling in Goethe; there is soulless declamation in Schiller; and there are glaring faults in Otto Ludwig, faults that will prevent his ever becoming popular,—but nowhere is there a taint of insincerity, or of bidding for applause. He was single-minded, unswerving earnestness personified.

## On the Enjoyment of Poetry

MAY TOMLINSON

When I try to account for my enjoyment of poetry, to trace the delight to its source, I discover that very often it is nothing more than a subtle suggestion of mystery or remoteness, of contrast or change, that calls forth the pleasurable emotion; I am surprised to find how largely these elements contribute to the fabric called poetry. They are the silver threads in the web, inextricably interwoven, though visible only in shimmer and sheen.

At the poet's query,

Where lies the land to which yon ship must go?

a thrill runs through me. Here, it is the awesomeness of mystery and uncertainty that stirs the imagination. Again, I find the charm of the far-removed and the mystical in Keats' magic casements,

Opening on the foam  
Of perilous seas in faeryland forlorn;

and in Coleridge's

Ancestral voices prophesying war;

and in Wordsworth's magic line:

The cuckoo straggling up to the hill-tops  
*Shouteth faint tidings of some gladder place.*

Than this last, could anything be more spiritual and delicately romantic?

Of the poetic effect secured through a skillful use of contrast, Wordsworth's sonnet to the River Duddon, the one beginning *O Mountain Stream!* affords a good example. The poet's aim is to give an impression of deep solitude. He pictures a desolate wilderness, far from the haunts of men. And through this barren waste the river flows, attended but by its own voice, save where the clouds and fowls of the air its way pursue. Now, the suggestion of life and motion implied in this mention of birds and clouds supplies a touch of contrast, and with this hint of contrast comes a deepening sense of solitude and desolateness.

Again, in the sonnet beginning *Even as a dragon's eye*, the poet makes effective use of contrast, introducing this time a double

contrast, that between what is seen and what is imagined, and that between the two scenes conjured up by his own imagination, one suggested by what appears to the eye, and the other pure fancy, though a picturing of what may actually be. The quick dissolution of the scene from the actual to the imaginary, and from the imaginary to the actual, calls for an activity of the imaginative intellect most gratifying and exhilarating.

That the poet should seize upon this element of contrast and make use of it in his own magical sphere is not surprising, since he beholds it daily as a powerful agency in life itself. In life's experience, the scenes which leave the most lasting impression upon the mind are those which present strong contrast. Sometimes these scenes are of no great moment, but there they remain stored away in the treasure house of the memory never to be entirely forgotten.

One warm November morning, almost as many years ago as I was then years old, I steamed into Galveston harbor. As we floated shoreward, it seemed to us that the very moment of submergence had come, that the sea, even then, was about to glide in level, smooth-flowing tide over the low-lying land. There was, however, no suggestion of tragedy or calamity in the scene, no hint of struggle or resistance; that sinking out of sight seemed a willing surrender of the wave-washed earth. And the picture that presented itself as we neared the dock was but a further expression of this same passive waiting for what was to come. A crowd of lazy, lounging negroes blackened the wharf, lying there as if without life or power of motion. The ship was moored, gang planks were laid, and instantly every limp, motionless figure sprang into action; the dock became a scene of busy activity; the work of unloading had begun. Now, this scene, in itself of no especial import, made a lasting impression, and comes often to mind, even now, after all these years, slipping into sight as suddenly and mysteriously as a stereopticon view comes before the eyes of a child.

I suspect that this element of contrast is a more potent influence in our lives than we realize. I conceive of it as adding immeasurably to the poetry of life. I conceive of it as playing an important part in that marvelous plan of the Creator, that adaptation of the external universe to the individual mind. It appears

in the daily phenomena of nature. The stars shine forth by night and are invisible by day, but they continue forever; though to our sight the sun rises and sets, appears and disappears, we know that it burns unceasingly. These apparent discrepancies keep us humble and full of wonder. Without them, what dull, prosaic creatures we should be, how arrogant and intolerable!

We read that nothing changes but the permanent, that there is continuity even in change, a truth which, when we observe the daily processes of nature, we can easily believe; we perceive then that there is poetry as well as philosophy in the statement. For is there not always something poetic and dream-like in the appearance of sky and atmosphere at the twilight hour? Does not the briefest mention of sunset colors or of the fading light of day stir poetic feeling? Tranquility and serenity suggest repose and permanence, and this thought of permanence, brought sharp against what is actually fleeting, imparts a visionary loveliness to the scene. It was this idea of the permanent in the transitory that called forth Tennyson's praise of Wordsworth's line,

Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns.

The essence of political beauty is something subtle and ethereal, something delicate and elusive, to be found, it may be, in the flight of a bird, in a waft of fragrance or a gleam of sunlight, in a flitting shadow, a smile, a tone, perchance in a single word of a song. And this momentary sensation it is the poet's task to embody and perpetuate. And this beauty, even when thus embodied, comes to us only in flashes of perception and when the spirit is attuned. Since the exercise of the imaginative power can never be long continued, and since the highest pleasure derived from any art product whatsoever must include a sense of unity, that thought or emotion for which the verse form known as the sonnet affords the best vehicle would seem to be the most poetic thought or feeling. Sometimes the fluctuations of the spirit are too elusive to be stayed by any art, too volatile to be caught even as a faint aroma, and too evanescent to be other than mystery. In another world, possessed of a finer intelligence, lifted above all pettiness, and purged of all that is gross, the poet may be able to make real to other minds what now is beyond his power to express. Those "smiles to earth unknown," those "fleeting moods of shadowy exultation," those "idle flitting phan-

tasies," will then be revealed in exquisite embodiment. And this power to give, and this capacity to receive, pleasure may be one of the ecstacies of that heavenly life.

Beauty embodied in the language of words appeals more directly to the intellect than any other form of art expression. The painter speaks to us in the language of lines and colors. His work is addressed to the eye. It may be a purely sensuous appeal. And sculpture, being a medium of expression for beauty of form, also "steals access" through the eye. But, you ask, is not the poet's word addressed to the ear? Yes. And I do not forget that species of metrical language—much of Swinburne's verse, for instance—which is nothing more than melodious sound, pleasing to the ear but making no spiritual appeal. When the melody is an outpouring of the inner spirit, taking its color from the inward sympathies, it becomes organic; it is then an inseparable part of the expression. But verse which simply delights the ear, being merely a musical arrangement of words without conveying ideas or voicing moods, is not poetry, since it makes no demand upon the imagination; and the essence of poetical enjoyment, according to Leigh Hunt, consists in a voluntary power to imagine. Now, the more material art of the painter and sculptor need not necessarily call into play this high power, though, unquestionably, that art is the greatest which is itself an expression of the highest faculties of the human mind, and which demands of the beholder a like endowment. Its creator then becomes something more than painter or sculptor—he is poet as well.

The musical capabilities of spoken language have been well tested by the poets. Tennyson's *Lotus Eaters*, as an exhibition of the power of tone to express a mood of mind, has the merit of a musical composition. The reader with senses dulled, finds himself lulled into a state of apathetic content, as if he too had eaten of the fateful fruit, so irresistible is the effect of this wonderful verse. It almost seems to me that a foreigner of fine sensibility and delicate ear, without any knowledge whatever of the language, would, upon hearing this poem intoned, respond to its mood of dreamy languor. Much of the effect is secured through vowel melody and a melodious fusion of vowels and consonants. This accomplishment implies high cultivation of ear and a choice and arrangement of words, by the aid of the ear, with a consid-

eration of the difficulties of vocal articulation. It must be borne in mind, however, that no exercise of poetic power is ever purely mechanical, even when the results may have a physiological basis.

Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind* is also the expression of a mood, though the two poems are as unlike as two productions could possibly be. Tennyson presents a mood that is altogether impersonal and imaginary. Shelley's ode is intensely personal: it is a revelation, an impassioned cry, an outpouring of the poet's restless, unsatisfied, aspiring soul, with all its yearning for unrealized ideals. His spirit seems wafted on the wings of verse to some holier region, where discordant elements shall be reconciled and where all shall be composed to peace.

The element of color is sometimes a contributing factor, but it never, in and of itself, constitutes the poetic. Even in that marvelous sky spectacle, described by Wordsworth in *The Excursion*, it is not glory of color that moves the imagination. In this passage, the whole poetic effect is secured through a simple suggestion of boundlessness and remoteness. That wilderness of building was self-withdrawn into a *boundless depth*; it was the revealed abode of *spirits in beatitude* that the Solitary saw.

Keats' *Eve of St. Agnes* is remarkable for splendor of color, though the essential charm of the poem does not lie in its color effects, but in its richness of poetic suggestion, such as, for example, that beautiful conception of the binding of the outward senses, where the maiden, wrapped in the oblivion of sleep, is described as

Blinded alike from sunshine and from rain,  
As if a rose should shut and be a bud again.

In this suggestiveness of poetry, there is something magical. Take the lines,

And she shall lean her ear  
In many a secret place  
Where rivulets dance their wayward round,  
And beauty born of murmuring sound  
Shall pass into her face.

It is her *delight* in the murmur of the stream, and her aliveness to all that it suggests, that brings beauty to the maiden's face: the beauty springs from the *delight*. Translated into plain prose

these lines would read: Her face was beautiful with poetic feeling, with love and happiness, as she listened to the music of the brook. Here we have it all, fully expressed, with nothing left to the imagination; and the charm is gone, vanished like the flitting of an invisible presence of which we are aware through other than our bodily senses.

So we find that our pleasure in poetry is derived from various sources,—beauty of thought and depth and sweetness of feeling, melodious flow of verse and perfect adaptation of the verse to the thought or feeling, beauty of imagery, and always that magical suggestiveness. Sometimes, a certain blitheness of spirit constitutes the chief charm, as in *The Green Linnet*, for instance; sometimes a playful grace, as in Tennyson's stanzas addressed to the Rev. F. O. Maurice; sometimes we love a bit of verse simply for its expression of one sweet thought, Wordsworth's *Stepping Westward*, for example, or that little poem *An Incident at Bruges*. Then there are passages that appeal to us for their beauty of truth, of which Wordsworth's description of the pleasures of skating affords a good illustration, or the passage showing how he was "fostered alike by beauty and by fear," or the lines which tell of the boy who "blew mimic hootings to the owls," or the description of the appearances of shepherds beheld by the poet in his youth. And so we might go on multiplying instances from the work of this one poet alone, Wordsworth's poetry seeming to be especially rich in this beauty of truth, though numerous passages might be cited from other poets (see the first seventeen verses of Coleridge's lines *Composed at Clevedon*); the work of our own beloved Whittier is often characterized by this beauty of truth, notably his *Snow Bound*.

As a rule, it is in poetry as in painting, the greater the art, the greater the demand upon the intellectual faculties of him who sees or reads. There are, however, little masterpieces (*Holmes' Chambered Nautilus*, for example) that possess a dewdrop-like excellence, being so simple in conception and so clear in meaning as to require no great exercise of the imagination. Their beauty is apparent and to be enjoyed by every person of intelligence and sensibility. But to feel the power of such a production as Coleridge's *Christabel*, or his *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, the reader must be both capable of intellectual exertion and possessed of an imagi-

native mind, in either case some understanding of the idea of the poem being essential to the enjoyment of the same; though, in the *Rime*, the vivid word-pictures flashed upon the mental vision might hold the reader's interest.

Something should be said of the mood necessary for the complete enjoyment of poetry. First, be it declared (to illustrate by comparison) that the temper of mind with which the lover of poetry approaches the shrine is quite other than that which controls the reader of fiction. The average novel reader is keen for the story; he desires to be entertained; he demands swift action; elaborate description bores him; a leisurely meandering style of narration he has little patience with, even Thackeray's charming digressions seem to him tiresome. He would skim through the pages of a novel as he speeds over the ground in an automobile or shoots through the air in a flying machine.

The reader of poetry, on the other hand, is content with a more leisurely pace. His mood is more that of one who saunters through a wood,

An old place, full of many a lovely brood,  
Tall trees, green arbours, and ground-flowers in flocks.

For the full enjoyment of what is before him, a contemplative frame of mind and a feeling of quiet are necessary. If there is sufficient repose at the outset, the spirit will sink into a deeper peace as the moments pass. This, however, is not the peace of inertness, but an intensity of feeling correspondent with the increased tension of mind.

Through the pleasures of poetry, the soul capable of high ecstasy may know moments of impassioned feeling in hours of solitude. The stay-at-home may explore those "realms of gold" unwearied and unworn. But these pleasures are not alone for the shut-in and the solitary. They are no less for those who have other diversions and who sit in the family circle. The mood favorable to the highest enjoyment of poetry settles only in an atmosphere of leisure and quiet. Here it will brood. Hurry and confusion do not accord with this spirit of calm. Impassioned feeling gathers only in quiet depths. Hilarity does not dwell with the muse, whose song in its lighter strains is playful but never boisterous; graceful and joyous, but rollicking never; always leaning more to sweetness and loveliness than to fun and frolic. The pro-

per atmosphere secured and the muse admitted, care and vexation, worry and distress, even pain and sorrow, will flee away, yielding the hour to peace and joy.

To define exquisitely the nature of poetical enjoyment, I should need the discrimination of a philosopher as well as the poet's power to breathe life into senseless words. To declare that poetry is essentially vital is only to repeat what has been said by others. And Coleridge tells us that "the poet, described in ideal perfection, brings the whole soul of man into activity." His plummet sinks to the deepest depths of man's emotional nature—to those still depths; and the calm that follows is a "gentle, exalted content."

The difference between the pleasure excited by beauty embodied in the language of words and the pleasure called forth by beauty expressed through other mediums is indescribable, a difference that can only be felt. The transcendency of poetry over the other arts is due to its wider sphere and its greater power of suggestion. Milton paints his picture of Eve among the roses in three lines; and sweeter even than this scene, which glows with exquisite color, is Wordsworth's conception of that child of nature who leans her ear, in many a "secret place," to drink the "beauty born of murmuring sound." Then we have that lovely dream-vision of the ship

Some gentle day  
Sailing in sunshine far away;

and that sweet, tender summer night scene, when the whole earth is flooded with silvery light, and every obscure hiding-place feels the moon's benediction:

The nested wren  
Has thy fair face within her tranquil ken,  
And from beneath a sheltering ivy leaf  
Takes glimpses of thee;

and that delicious bit of color and freshness,—a wide lawn, with a space of heaven above,

Edged round with dark tree-tops, through which a dove  
Would often beat its wings, and often, too,  
A little cloud would move across the blue;

and that shadowy evening scene,

An English home—gray twilight pour'd  
On dewy pastures, dewy trees,  
Softer than sleep—all things in order stor'd,  
A haunt of ancient peace.

I have given these examples of landscape in literature to illustrate the poet's power to paint by suggestion, and his habit of leaving much to the imagination. He not only pictures things as they really are, but he gives a moral life even to the loose stones of the highway. To his eyes, the short-lived foam, down the green back of the ocean wave,

Burns gradual with a wayward indolence.

In a single suggestive word, he can reflect the *spirit* of a place. Thus Shakespeare's

How sweet the moonlight *sleeps* upon this bank!

makes us feel all the stillness and peace of the moonlight night; and Wordsworth's "harmonious *pensive changes*" suggests the play of memories overshadowing the spot where the White Doe ranges. The poet can pack a wealth of meaning into a single line:

There is a budding morrow in midnight.

or again:

The marble index of a mind forever  
*Voyaging through strange seas of thought alone.*

He can "make audible in the melody of words shades of feeling and thought that elude the grasp of imagery":

With heart as calm as lakes that sleep  
In frosty moonlight glistening;  
Or mountain rivers, where they creep  
Along a channel smooth and deep,  
To their own far-off murmurs listening.

He can shadow forth dim sympathies and passing moods:

The thin blue flame  
Lies on my low-built fire, and quivers not;  
Only that film, which fluttered on the grate,  
Still flutters there, the sole unquiet thing.  
Methinks its motion in this hush of nature  
Gives it dim sympathies with me who live,  
Making it a companionable form,  
Whose puny flaps and freaks the idling Spirit  
By its own moods interprets, everywhere  
Echo or mirror seeking of itself,  
And makes a toy of Thought.

I will not take the space to comment on the various elements of expressiveness employed by the poet further than to say that these various agencies of verse contribute more largely to the reader's pleasure than he is aware of, unless he be a student of poetry with eye and ear alert. He is conscious of the suggestiveness of Shakespeare's line,

And tips with silver all the fruit-tree tops,  
without realizing to what the effect is due. He feels the force of such lines as these:

Saint Francis be my speed! how oft tonight  
Have my old feet stumbled at graves! Who's there?

or these:

And Gareth loosed the stone  
From off his neck, then in the mere beside  
*Tumbled* it; *oilily bubbled* up the mere;

or these:

*Fled with* a Christian! O my ducats!  
*Justice!* the law! my ducats and my daughter!

or of such a line as this:

*Petulant* she spoke, and at herself she laughed;

or this:

*Wallowing* unwieldy, enormous in their gait,

he feels the force of such lines, though he cannot tell how the effect is secured. To feel, even superficially, is something, but the reader who has looked into the secrets of the art, and discovered that these suggestions of hugeness and unwieldiness, of stumbling and tumbling, of indignant and impulsive feeling, are the result sometimes of a shifting of the regular accent, sometimes of the introduction of an additional light syllable,—knowing that these departures from the standard measure are not arbitrary but spontaneous and organic,—experiences a delight little dreamed of by the uninitiated; his reverence for the poet's art is truly worshipful.

## The Beginnings of the North Carolina City Schools, 1867-1887.

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No one can understand the present educational development of North Carolina, unless he knows something of the history of the state from 1867-1887. In many respects this is the most interesting period in all our history. It was a formative period in as true a sense as was the colonial period. It is a period which is hardly yet known to many of this generation. The clash of the elemental passions of hatred, of selfishness, of despair, with ideals of hope, toleration, philanthropy, vision, and all the other ideals of civilization, makes this period one of surpassing interest.

We of this generation have heard strident echoes of the conflicts of that period during our recent political campaigns; we have had dinned in our ears the quarrel words which excited men then; we have been told of the horrors of the Republican party government of that period, not for the purpose of instruction, but to keep us all in the party harness and cause us to vote a straight ticket on election day. And still many of us are vastly ignorant of what really did happen in those days. For the personal side of the reconstruction government of this period I would, however, bring no defense. But the constitution of 1868 came out of that period, a constitution which really for the first time recognized public education in the sense in which we now know it. The school law of 1869 came out of that period. That school law recognized local taxation for the first time in our educational history. This constitution and this school law made at least a four months' school term an obligation on the state, the county, and the township, and they declared that 75 per cent of the poll taxes should be devoted to public education. For the first time in our history we had a state tax levied for educational purposes. For the first time in our history we saw the state recognizing its obligation to educate the black children of the state. It was no small gain to our civilization that the fundamental law and the school statutes of our state declared for all these things. And we must also remember that the very men this generation has been taught to de-

nounce from infancy as only bad, put into the bill of rights of our constitution the following declarations: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," and "The people have a right to the privilege of education, and it is the duty of the state to guard and maintain that right."

And while this period has its dark spots, every right thinking North Carolinian and every child born into our social order must thank God that out of those dark days these educational safe-guards of our very life originated.

In a word, public schools for all the people were originated during this period. Apparently, there was little success in the effort. It was a time of party strife; society was greatly disorganized as a result of the Civil War and the activity of self-seeking politicians; the school taxes were imperfectly collected and paid into the treasury; there were no large towns; the flower of the population of the state had been left forever on the battlefields of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania; Congress was threatening to pass a civil rights bill which would destroy separate schools for each race; the sober thought of the people was unable to speak firmly and decidedly in favor of such public schools as the constitution of 1868 provided for; there was much poverty and much aversion to taxes of any kind; there were many who doubted the wisdom of educating those who were so recently slaves; the sparse population and bad roads made such coöperation as was necessary to establish good schools next to impossible; the township system of schools opposed the individualistic small district system in vogue before the Civil War and there were constant attempts to go back to that system; and, finally, the courts were reactionary on the subject of public education by taxation and were always ready to declare that schools were not a necessary expense of government. But out of these discordant times the town schools of North Carolina were born. The story of their birth and their early growth is the most interesting chapter in our educational history.

First, a few words about the educational conditions of the the towns during the first six years of this period, from 1867-1873, conditions which put the thinking people of the towns to work to establish better school facilities.

In 1868, Raleigh had only 275 white children out of 600 in school attendance. Dr. Barnas Sears, the General Agent of the Peabody Board, says the remaining 325 were being "wholly neglected." Out of the 800 or 900 negro children more than 700 were said to be in school. In New Bern only 210 white children out of 500 or 600 were in school. In Charlotte, not more than 250 out of 650 white children and not more than 150 out of 350 negro children were in school attendance. In 1869, Dr. Sears speaks of the "general want of the means of education" at Wilmington. In 1870, the same authority says that "there are nearly 1000 white children who should be in school," in New Bern, and that not half of them attend any school. The same year the "schools of Salisbury were reported as suspended," while it was said that "the attempts made to induce Raleigh to provide public schools have not yet been successful." In 1872, Dr. Sears says that the public school for white children in Washington had enrolled 132 children and the colored school 451. The next year this white school was reported at one time to have 240 pupils. And everywhere the records show that a large proportion of the white and black children of the larger and the smaller towns were growing up in ignorance, without decent and adequate school facilities.

But the towns were not content with these poor educational conditions. As early as 1868 the Peabody Board promised Wilmington \$1500 if the citizens would contribute \$3000 to maintain public schools. So much could not be raised and the amounts had to be reduced. At the same time New Bern accepted an offer of \$1000 from the same source and promised to raise \$2500 for its public schools. Similar offers were made, though in smaller sums and requiring smaller sums to be raised locally, to Greensboro, Charlotte, Salisbury, and Fayetteville. Dr. Sears said in his 1868 report that Salisbury had recently raised \$1000 by a tax and was soon going to enlarge its school building and expected \$700 from the Peabody Board to aid in support of its public school.

But Wilmington found that it could not raise \$3000 so as to secure the \$1500 promised by the Peabody Board for the year 1868-69. However, two well-graded free schools with 300 pupils were supported during that year by subscription, in charge

of Miss Amy B. Bradley and six teachers. Before the beginning of the school year, 1869-70, the citizens of Wilmington raised by subscription \$2000, and were promised the \$1500 additional from the Peabody Fund to maintain free schools for all the white children of Wilmington. During the next year Wilmington raised by voluntary contributions more than \$7500 for the support of its schools, and was again aided by the Peabody Fund to the extent of \$1500.

In 1870, the New Bern Academy, by resolution of its board of trustees, was opened as a free public school to all white children of that town between the ages of six and twenty-one. Up to this time New Bern had not carried out its agreement made in 1868 with the Peabody Board, and, of course, had received no aid from that source. Now the Peabody Board proposed to give \$1000 on account of the action of the Academy trustees.

During 1870 Dr. Sears says he received an application from Charlotte "for assistance in maintaining a charity school." In reply he suggested a local tax and a public school for all, and proposed to assist such a school.

In 1871, the Peabody Board agreed to give Fayetteville \$1000 for that year in support of free schools with an attendance of not less than 550 pupils. A similar offer was made to Washington to give \$600 for a white school of over 100 pupils and a colored school of over 300 for ten months. It seems both Fayetteville and Washington had public schools in accordance with these agreements during 1871-2. In his report for 1871, Dr. Sears says that "the city of Wilmington has at length assumed the support and control of the free schools, which have hitherto been sustained by private contributions." A new agreement for one year was now entered into with Wilmington by which the city was to raise \$1000 by taxes and get \$1000 from the Peabody Board and raise \$500 additional for a ten months' school term. The New Bern Academy still continued to be conducted as a free school and again received \$1000 for the year from the Peabody Board.

In the Peabody report for 1872, mention is made of aid given the public schools of Wilmington, Washington, and New Bern. The New Bern Academy trustees wrote the Peabody agent on February 10, 1872, that their public school by the Peabody aid

had been able to maintain a first-class position and that "all opposition has been overcome, and partisan private schools have been compelled to succumb to the generous provisions we have been enabled to make for all who chose to take advantage of them."

In 1873, Washington reported that "the number of pupils in our school is 240. They are divided into three grades, and are instructed by five teachers. The amount subscribed by citizens is \$800, and that derived from the public fund is \$785." On February 22, 1873, the chairman of the school committee of Wilmington wrote Dr. Sears as follows: "By the recent action of the County Board of Education and the Board of Aldermen, the free schools of Wilmington have been made city free schools. A school committee of five and a superintendent have been appointed. The city authorities have been requested to levy a tax to meet the deficiencies of the State and county tax for schools in the city. There is an increasing attendance, amounting now to about 1000. We flatter ourselves that the start now taken in Wilmington will, in time, extend to every part of the State." Then Dr. Sears adds: "In a subsequent letter I was informed that the city tax had been pronounced illegal. Thus it seems that a city that is willing and anxious to tax itself for a good system of graded schools is prevented from doing it by the law of the State. The same is true in regard to Raleigh, which applied to the General Assembly, at its last session, for authority to raise money for free schools by popular vote, and the application failed because that body considered such authority unsafe." But it has never been illegal in this good state for a town or city to expend tax money to prevent pigs from running at large on its streets, yet it long remained illegal and unconstitutional in our past municipal history for a town to provide that its children be put in school and taken off the streets, out of the company of pigs! Thanks to our highest courts which in these formative times construed our constitution and our statutes not in the interest of civilization but in the interest of property, not according to the general welfare but according to tradition and precedent and the letter which killeth!

And so it came about that no North Carolina city school was established without a fierce struggle. Of course, the small Pea-

body aid, supplemented by the small general funds and the uncertain private subscriptions, could not firmly establish the town graded schools. Other means had to be resorted to. Taxation of all the people for the education of all the children was the only principle which could be invoked to establish these schools on a firm basis.

I have referred to the fact that Wilmington tried to levy a school tax in February, 1873, and that it was declared illegal. It was not illegal to levy a tax to build streets, but it was illegal to use any city tax money to build mind and character. You will also remember that Raleigh asked in 1873 to be permitted to raise money for schools by a popular vote but that the legislature said that such authority would be unsafe. Think of it! The legislature of a free state saying that it would be unsafe to give the people of Raleigh township the right to vote an extra tax for the education of its own children!

The reason Raleigh township asked for such a special law was because the school law of 1869 had provided for a township local school tax, and our Supreme Court at the January term, 1871, in the case of Lane vs. Stanley, had declared that a township could not legally levy a local school tax because schools were not a necessary township expense and also because the public schools were not intended by the constitution of 1868 to be a local but a general state affair; that schools must not be left to the varying whims of the people of the several townships!

But the more intelligent leaders of the more progressive communities saw they must have better schools than those provided by the state system. Greensboro and Charlotte took steps in 1875 to provide legal ways and means to establish better public schools. Greensboro had its charter amended so as to provide a local tax for schools. Whether this provision of the charter was ever submitted to a popular vote, I do not know. But the local school tax was levied, and graded schools, the first of the kind in the state, were established on a permanent taxation basis. Charlotte obtained a special act of the General Assembly of 1875, authorizing the voting of a local tax of 25 cents on property of \$100 valuation and 75 cents on each poll, along with provisions creating the school commissioners of the city of Charlotte and giving them entire management of the local schools. This special

school law, with slight variations, is still the school law of the city of Charlotte. But the passage of this law did not establish the graded schools of Charlotte. Along, bitter fight of nearly six years resulted, typical of what has occurred in many other North Carolina towns. At the time this law was enacted Charlotte had two influential newspapers—the *Weekly Democrat* with W. J. Yates in charge, and the *Daily Observer* under the editorial management of Charles R. Jones. These papers took opposite sides in the graded school contest.

The *Democrat* opened up against the law on April 5, 1875, fourteen days after its passage, in the following characteristic manner: "We think the Act of the Legislature in regard to Public Schools in this city will be very oppressive to tax payers if carried out, without conferring much benefit upon white children. Before any white man or tax payer in any ward signs a petition for enforcing the law he had better read it and consider what the consequences will be. We are in favor of aiding the education of the poor white children, but we protest against the law lately adopted by the Legislature as unjust and unfair. We think tax-payers and property owners have some rights that ought to be respected." On July 24, 1876, the *Democrat* tried to inject the issue of ward schools in the campaign. On August 10, 1877, the same paper, although the local school tax had once been defeated, sneeringly said: "Of course, the tax will be voted, as a large majority of the voters pay but very little if any tax, and are not bothered with scruples about increasing taxes even if times are hard and some city property is being sold for taxes." On September 7, 1877, the *Democrat*, in speaking of the result of the second election on the school tax, said: "The election passed off very quietly, very little interest being taken in it, and consequently a small vote was polled." In its next issue the *Democrat* laconically announced that the "school scheme failed because a majority of the qualified voters of the city failed to vote for it," and added that no additional funds were needed because there was then \$372.95 in the school treasury of the township unused from the previous year's general apportionment. In this same issue of the *Democrat*, September 14, 1877, a writer who signed "Progress" to his article said that "the negroes generally refused to vote owing to the misrepresentations made to them that their present

schools and colored teachers would all be abolished. The vote was generally cast by intelligent property holders and tax-payers. It is vexatiously slow to bring up ignorance to advocate the education of the masses by taxation—approved by all the intelligent world around us."

Again in 1878, the local school tax for Charlotte was defeated for the third time, because the measure did not secure a majority of the registered voters. In the city election of 1880, the *Observer* and the friends of the local school tax made the tax one of the issues of the campaign. It was shown by the friends of the local school tax that Charlotte had 2247 children who ought to have been in school, while only about 400 were actually enrolled in any school in February, 1880. The *Observer* also showed that the extra tax would be "spent at home and not in New York," it showed that the local tax would not be a poor man's measure. "Progress" brought out the fact that more than 20 years before the city of Charlotte had issued bonds for the erection of a female institute and a military academy to which higher schools but few children could go, and now called on the people to give the smaller children the opportunity of a good school. Another newspaper writer brought out the fact that, if Charlotte did not offer as good school facilities as Atlanta and Richmond, she could not hope to attract new-comers. "Modern Progression" showed that the opponents of the tax were "canvassing quietly and trying to induce the voters to remain away from the polls on election day with a hope to defeat the measure. They are represented as using every imaginable means to gain their ends." A few days before the election on June 7, 1880, ward meetings were held by the friends of better schools and a large public meeting on Independence Square. When the votes were counted, the local school tax had only 815 out of 1662 names on the registration books, and it looked like the tax was defeated a fourth time. The *Observer* was chagrined and said so. But the friends of the tax found that 120 names on the registration books appeared there without legal warrant, and they "purged" the books of those illegal names and declared the election carried in favor of the tax. Then the opponents of the schools went into the courts with an injunction to prevent the collection of the special tax. Judge Seymour, of the Superior Court, sustained the tax and the case went to the

Supreme Court. This case is known as W. S. Norment and others vs. the City of Charlotte, and was finally adjudicated in favor of the city at the September, 1881, term of that court. The *Observer*, of January 5, 1882, announced the final decision of the matter, and there was much rejoicing on the part of the friends of the schools, who had fought for more than five years for the better education of all the children of the city.

While Charlotte was thus engaged in its long battle for better schools, Raleigh township had secured, after much opposition in the legislature of 1877, a special act to permit it to levy a tax of 10 cents on each \$100 valuation of property and 30 cents on each poll. This special act was approved by a vote of the township without much opposition, and its graded schools begun in 1876 were firmly established before Charlotte voted favorably for its local tax in the summer of 1880. The interesting thing about the establishment of the Raleigh township graded schools centers around the passage of the act in the legislature known as chapter 285 of the laws of 1877 and euphoniously entitled "An act to authorize townships having within their limits cities of five thousand inhabitants and upwards to levy taxes for the support of graded public schools." This act excepted New Bern, Wilmington, Goldsboro, and Charlotte from its provisions but included Fayetteville and Cross Creek township. The act conferred only the right of levying a local school tax and contained none of the provisions of the Charlotte act of 1875. During the passage of this bill in the House "Mr. Kenan moved to lay the whole matter on the table. Mr. Morris offered an amendment to make the bill apply to all counties without regard to population," which was lost. "Mr. Rose moved to indefinitely postpone the consideration of the bill, which did not prevail." Then, "Mr. Todd of Ashe submitted an amendment to strike out 'city of 5000 inhabitants' and insert 'town or city,' which amendment was lost." Finally, "Mr. Shotwell submitted an amendment to provide that the tax so levied shall not exceed \$15000." This amendment was also lost and the bill passed the House by a vote of 59 ayes to 10 noes. In the Senate, "Mr. Finger, chairman of the committee on education, offered a substitute for the bill." An amendment was offered by Mr. Wynne to make the tax 12½ cents instead of ten cents, because, he said, the Raleigh schools could not be kept up

with a smaller tax. "Messrs. Dortch, Nicholson, Stickney, Finger and Latham opposed the amendment" and it failed. Then, Mr. Moore, of New Hanover, tried to make the bill apply to the whole state but without success. The Senate passed the substitute bill by a vote of 36 ayes to 2 noes.

During the passage of the bill through the legislature the *Raleigh Observer* said that it was opposed to "vesting the power of unlimited taxation in the hands of those who are not taxpayers," and declared that Capt. Shotwell's amendment to limit the taxation to \$15000 ought to have been adopted. The *Observer* also said: "we do not hesitate to say that we fear to place in the hands of a non-tax-paying negro constituency, or in the hands of officials elected by a non-tax-paying negro constituency, the power to levy without limit money to purchase building sites and to erect buildings thereon." The *Observer*'s "arguments" came near putting the bill to sleep, so near that a few days before the end of the legislative session it asked: "What has become of the Graded School Bill?" It now took some skillful lobbying to get the matter before the Senate and get the bill finally passed.

Goldsboro township was the next community to attempt to vote a local school tax. It obtained a permissive act from the special session of the legislature of 1880. A tax of 20 cents on each \$100 valuation and 60 cents on each poll was authorized by this act, white taxes to go to the support of white schools and negro taxes to the support of negro schools, the schools of each race to be conducted by separate boards.

This was the first time a North Carolina law, permitting the division of school taxes on the race basis was enacted. It was hoped by some of the friends of better schools that such a measure would make the voting of special school taxes much easier. So from 1880 to 1885 we find a number of towns securing such permissive legislation as would permit a race division of local school taxes.

When the people of Goldsboro township first voted on such a local tax, early in May, 1880, the measure failed because the poor white people and the ignorant negroes united to defeat the higher taxes.

In the spring of 1881 Goldsboro township secured another permissive act from the regular session of the General Assembly.

The main features of this new act were identical with those of the act of 1880. A strenuous campaign was conducted by Julius A. Bonitz, the editor of the Goldsboro *Messenger*. Mr. Bonitz boldly showed up the fearful ignorance of the community and declared that Goldsboro was then three centuries behind many other communities in the matter of schools; he also said that the establishment of graded schools "would herald a new dawn of prosperity for Goldsboro;" he boldly spoke in favor of the education of all classes together in public schools and urged every voter, from patriotic motives, to support the additional school tax. His appeals were successful, and the tax was approved the first Monday in May, 1881, by a vote of 599 out of a registration of 941.

The success of Mr. Bonitz and other friends of the school tax resulted in bringing to North Carolina Mr. E. P. Moses, as superintendent of the Goldsboro Graded School. He had already attained success in the Knoxville Schools, and he soon organized the Goldsboro School and made it a great success. Superintendent Moses was an enthusiastic teacher, and he was the direct inspiration which put McIver, Alderman, Joyner and others into the ranks of the school men. In any discussion of the origin of our city schools the name of E. P. Moses must have an honored place.

Before the end of the year 1886, Durham, Wilson, and a few other towns had established graded schools, with the special taxes to be divided on the race basis, but not without a fierce struggle in each case between the forces opposed to higher taxes and those in favor of better schools. Even though this new scheme to avoid "educating negroes over-much" was devised to smooth the path to the heart of the white tax-payer, the white tax-payer did not respond with alacrity to the scheme, for graded schools still increased his taxes, even though none of the increase was used to educate the negro children.

There remains one more epoch-making event to note in the history of the beginnings of our city schools. The legislature of 1883 generally recognized the utility of race division of local school taxes and authorized by a general statute any school district in the state to vote local taxes for schools on that basis. Dallas school district soon voted such a local tax. Those opposed to the tax brought suit to restrain its collection on con-

stitutional and other grounds. The lower court sustained the validity of the tax, but the Supreme Court, in 1886, held that a school tax levied on the property of the white race and not on the property of the other race in the same district was contrary to that section of our constitution which declares that there shall be no discrimination between the races in providing public school facilities. Wilson, Kinston, and other towns abandoned their white graded schools rather than support schools for their negro children. But the white people of those towns soon saw the folly of starving their own children in order to starve negro children and re-established their schools, making provision for negro children at the same time.

Since this epoch-making decision of our highest court in the interest of fair dealing and humanity, we have made great educational progress, and not a little of that progress has been due to those North Carolina towns which did the pioneer work of showing others the way to educational salvation.

There has been some controversy over whether Greensboro or Charlotte established the first North Carolina city graded school. But, so far as I am able to find out, neither one of the two claimants has any real right to this honor. The Charlotte *Observer* of October 14, 1873, said that it was glad to note the fact that the Charlotte township school committee were taking steps to establish city graded schools and added that Rev. J. B. Boone, one of the committee, was leaving that morning for Richmond "to obtain certain information in regard to the class of schools which it is proposed to put in operation in Charlotte." On October 30th, 1873, the *Observer* said that the city public schools would open that morning, under the superintendence of Rev. J. B. Boone. On November 2, 1873, the same paper stated that "120 pupils have entered the graded school." On January 27, 1874, it was said that 216 pupils were in regular attendance. On March 18, 1874, the *Observer* said that Mr. Boone had received \$600 from the Peabody Fund. The only other funds which this school had were county funds apportioned to the district. From all the evidence I can gather, this Charlotte Graded School did not differ in any important respect from the "two well-graded free schools," of Wilmington, under the superintendence of Miss Bradley, during the school year of 1868-9, or from

the other public schools aided by the Peabody Board maintained from 1869-1873 in Wilmington, Washington, New Bern, and Fayetteville. But even if this were not so, the matter seems to me to be settled by the pamphlet issued by Superintendent H. B. Blake, giving an account of the New Hanover public schools for 1873-4. In describing the schools of Wilmington, Superintendent Blake says: "The Public Schools of the City are maintained for eight months, beginning this year on the 13th of October, 1873, and closing on the 5th of June, 1874.

"There are three grades, Primary, Intermediate, and Grammar Schools."

This report further sets forth the work of the different grades in the city schools of Wilmington, from primary reading to geometry and the like.

Thus it will be seen that on the day before the Rev. Mr. Boone took the train at Charlotte to go to Richmond to get information about graded schools the Wilmington Graded School began its fall session. The preliminary steps to establish the Wilmington Graded School were taken in February, 1873, long before there is any record that Charlotte was contemplating the establishment of such a school. In fact, the Wilmington school authorities hoped the action they took in February, 1873, would lead other towns to take similar action.

## Flower de Hundred

N. P. DUNN

One cannot live beside a big, tidal river without coming to think of it as a sentient creature—a creature of a thousand moods, beautiful, baffling. My river can be as cruel as the sea, with a lashing, stinging fierceness, grey and terrible in the grasp of an eastern storm; or it can mimic some calm lake and take the setting sun to its bosom with never a ripple on his blood-red path. For three hundred years, now, the white man has stood beside this stream. He has never learned all its secrets, he has never seen all its phases, but for him its tides have come to be as the very pulses of his own being. They change with every hour the look of bluff and rock and sand—so they mark for him the restless flight of time which makes him subtly different from himself.

Beside my river lies an old Virginia home, where still a spark of life is sometimes kindled when the children's children of its early owners—to the seventh generation—come back to walk for a while on soil of which they feel themselves indeed a part. Then the old house is opened up, the faithful caretaker unites to other duties the task of cooking for the family, the barn yields up corn which comes back from the mill a different commodity from the meal of commerce. The river gives its shad, dripping as it disappears into the kitchen, and an occasional sturgeon can sometimes be got, to remind us of a time (it was as long ago as 1610) when the London Company put that delicacy on its "list of articles wanted in England" and added "Rowes of the said Sturgeon make Cavearie worth £40 per 100 pounds." The unique properties of these Virginia "Rowes" perhaps suggested Shakespeare's simile. Today sturgeon-roe brings a good price on any James river wharf. It goes to Russia *via* New York and is said to return later in small and expensive tins covered with mysterious foreign labels.

The garden, a survival, with its magnolia tree in the centre, is intersected by two broad walks. On each side of these are borders of roses which in May hold a carnival of color and perfume. Peonies, seringas, star-jessamine bloom there, too, while lavender and bay call up pictures of many a gentle lady whose custom

it was to walk there long ago. Wild strawberries furnish a feast fit for a king and even the pepper has a special spiciness, pounded as it is in an ancient mortar with a pestle as old as itself. The shore provides a driveway of hard sand bordered by the changing tide on one hand and the bluff on the other, where each season brings its own wealth of growing things. June provides a panoply of red lilies—the trumpet-vine runs riot in the trees, the hawthorn has its day, and always the ferns are there, sometimes hushed and prone in winter stillness, but ready for their sure resurrection. In the swamps, cypress trees rear giant trunks from black waters, their roots like myriads of weird stalagmites.

In the woods oaks and pines and beech trees tell of years of solitude undisturbed. Here the flowers keep their yearly trysts and the ferns live always in the same communities. A certain black pool will one day in May be sure to have its fringe of Jack-in-the-pulpit, another is guarded by its phalanx of sensitive fern, only marked in winter by brown fertile fronds, standing like sentinels beside the preëmpted spot. A hillside which slopes to the river where it is joined by Flower de Hundred creek has in due season its carpet of amaryllis, and throughout this wondrous forest the pink moccasin flower stands out from a ground-work of oak leaves and pine needles, challenging the whole race of orchids to show a lovelier bloom.

The eagle still finds solitude here and the deer a sanctuary. It is possible to see a pair of these wild creatures browsing in a certain wood and always, in the glen which leads to the upper swamp, can be traced their dainty hoof-tracks—it is their way to the river.

The first map of Virginia, made by Tindall in 1608 and preserved in the British Museum, gives clearly the conformation of the old plantation. It was then the site of the Indian village of Weynagh or Weyanoke. Here an interesting Indian mound was opened some years ago. The tract of 1000 acres on the south side of James River, twelve miles below its confluence with the Appomattox, was granted to Sir George Yeardley prior to 1619. Yeardley's descent has been traced to one John Yeardley who was born in Staffordshire in 1402. He was born between 1577 and 1580, became a member of the London Company when its second charter was granted by James I in 1609, and is enrolled as George

Yeardley, gentleman. Prior to this time he had seen much service in Holland. He sailed at once for Virginia and "beside a great deal of worth in his person, brought only his sword with him." He became a member of the Council and when Governor Dale returned to England, sailing with Rolfe and Pocahontas in 1616, he left "Mr. George Yeardley" in his place as deputy governor.

Argall came over as governor in 1617 and Yeardley returned to England, where he was chosen governor for three years and was knighted at Newmarket by the King. Report has it that he spent £3,000 in fitting himself out "in extraordinary bravery" for his return to America.

He immediately convened the assembly, and this body went into session July 30th, 1619, a year before the Mayflower sailed from England. Two of its members came from Yeardley's plantation, John Jefferson and Edmund Rossingham, his nephew. The place is then for the first time mentioned as Flowerdieu Hundred. Yeardley's administration was marked by many successes, but his "meek and gentle nature" was unfitted to cope with the unscrupulous factions about him and, declining reappointment, he seems to have been glad to retire in 1621 to the less responsible post of member of the Council.

At this time he built on the place the first windmill in North America. Governor Wyat and the Council, writing to the Company say "The good example of Sr George Yeardley, by whom a windmill hath been allready built we hope be great encouragement to others in a matter of soe greate and generall use." The mill must have stood well down on the charming promontory which has ever since been known as Windmill Point, but today the level field touches the silent swamp and neither speaks of a bustling, far-off day when an old industry was started in a new world by a man who "bred in that University of Warre, the Low Countries" must have learned there also a lesson of peace. This mill is mentioned in the deed of sale executed by Yeardley in 1624, but I find no subsequent notice of it. In 1620 there had come to our shores that fateful Dutch ship of sinister fame which landed in Virginia her cargo of twenty-two slaves. Eleven of these, ten men and one woman, were placed at once at Flower de Hundred. Here when the Indian Massacre occurred these black folk, stir-

ring perhaps some feeling of kinship in the breasts of the savages, were all spared. Six of the whites were murdered. After the massacre, many plantations were quitted to concentrate the people in the best and most defensible places.

Flower de Hundred was one of the five or six chosen. About this time Butler in his *Unmasked Face of Virginia* said that there was but one piece of ordnance at Flower de Hundred and it not serviceable. He was answered by a statement of the General Assembly that there were six and that he (Butler) was never there but "reporteth the unseen". Yeardley manned a party to avenge the massacre; he "freely employed his own shipping, shallops, mariners and servants without any recompense or freight at all."

It is not very clear under what circumstances and on what terms settlers in those days came to live at the different "hundreds". Probably Sir George and Lady Temperance his wife spent little or no time at Flower de Hundred, his duties keeping him in Jamestown; besides this he owned several other large plantations. One T. Watts is quaintly dubbed a "dweller at Flower-dieu Hundred" and is only one of many individuals mentioned from time to time in connection with the place. In 1624 Yeardley sold the plantation and the opposite place, Weyanoke, to Abraham Piersey, "cape merchant" and the richest man in the colony. The cape-merchant was the Company's chief factor, receiving all imports and selling the same. The deed, conveying Flower de Hundred to old Piersey, exists in a fragmentary condition. It can with reasonable certainty be said to be the oldest instrument of the kind in America, bearing date of October 5th, 1624. This indenture, "sealed, subscribed and delivered in ye presents of us Clem. Dilke, Sam. Sharp, Humphrey Roote, Wm. Allen and Greavell Pooly cleric (clericus)", is an interesting bit of parchment.

Of the witnesses three were members of the Assembly. Rev. Greavell Pooly was Piersey's "well-beloved friend" and a picturesque figure by reason of his unfortunate love affair. The widow Jordan to whom he was engaged preferring the attentions of the lawyer Ferrar, Pooly instituted a breach of promise suit. So delicate a question, the first to arise in the new world, was referred for settlement to the mother country and the widow married—Ferrar.

Yeardley served the country as deputy governor in 1625. The London Company was now a thing of the past. Virginia had become "the first royal province in America". He was made governor again April 19th, 1626, and died in November, 1627. His wife, Temperance West, had come to America in the *Falcon* in 1609 and died shortly after her husband. Not long ago the excavations undertaken on the site of the old Jamestown church disclosed a tombstone which can be none other than Yeardley's. Plainly it was once decorated with elaborate brasses—not a trace of metal remains, but the design of a knight in armour is distinctly seen, and no other knighted governor died in Virginia. The outlines of the foundation walls were unearthed and many interesting tombs discovered. Here where the ruined tower of the church stands guard one could wish that the hand of the modern might have been stayed, but a building has now risen on this sacred spot to meet some twentieth century sense of fitness.

"At a court held at James City, November 16th, 1627, Lady Temperance Yeardley came and confirmed the conveyance made by her late husband, Sir George Yeardley, Knight, late Governor, to Abraham Percy, Esq., for the lands of Flowerdieu Hundred, being 1,000 acres, and of Weanoke on the opposite side of the water, being 2,200 acres." Piersey died in 1634, leaving Flower de Hundred to his daughter, Mrs. Stevens. She had it repatedent to establish the title in 1636. The old attested copy of this new grant is still in existence, and is interesting in that its description of the metes and bounds of the place coincides with its extent today, while it calls for the 1,000 acres of land granted to Yeardley and sold by him to her father, and thus leaves no doubt that the land taken up by the former was never surveyed but lay amid natural boundaries and as a matter of fact contained upwards of 2,000 acres. The old "more or less" in this case seems to have been twice as much. Mrs. Stevens, now Lady Hervey, sold Flower de Hundred to William Barker, Mariner, who already with his partners, Quincy, Sadler, their associates, and Company, had received large grants of land in the neighborhood.

Barker died, leaving his son his heir. On the death of the son it was divided between the daughters, two in number, and a quaint old paper gives the method of apportionment. "A person well skilled in Surveying did with the moste equally indifferency

and convenience laye out the said tract of land called Flower due Hundred into two shares." Then "two paper balls were made and framed, in one of which was written those words (the Uppermost Part) and in the other was written those words (the Lowermost Part)." Being "soe made and framed they were put into the crown of a hatt . . . . . and should be one after the other drawn by a young childe." This division (let us hope it gave satisfaction) was effected in 1673. The act of 1680, passed with the hope of encouraging the building of towns, named Flower de Hundred as one of the nineteen proposed sites. This legislature looked to the improving of trades and crafts then so neglected for the cultivation and over-production of tobacco. Here as elsewhere the will of a lawmaker failed to produce a town, that aggregation of human units which accomplishes itself where and when it pleases and brooks no dictation and is its own mysterious law. However, the "Town Landes" were laid out on a choice part of the plantation and were mentioned in subsequent deeds to the property. Part of the place coming to the grandson of old Barker, one John Taylor, was left by him in 1709 to his daughters, one of whom, Elizabeth Duke, sold her portion to Joshua Poythress in 1732.

He had acquired another part of the place, in 1725, from another heir. Thus after four generations of ownership by Barker and his descendants the plantation now became the property of the family who still call it home. Under the care of Joshua Poythress the old plantation blossomed like a rose. His will, made in 1739, leaves the place to his sons, Joshua and William. Joshua the second bequeathed it to his only child, a daughter, who married in 1804 John V. Willcox of Fortune's Fork on the other side of the river. The old brick homestead overlooking the river having been burned, this orphaned daughter had made her home with a cousin at quaint old Appomattox where, during the Civil War, Lincoln was to come to hold conclave with General Grant. After her marriage she lived in Petersburg, but the plantation was brought under perfect cultivation, and about this time her husband built for his convenience, when he came to direct the farm, three rooms of the present, old, white, frame house, which today rambles on across the yard in a way that would surprise the original builder.

A son, coming to live at the place in 1842 added three more rooms, a grandson built another, a granddaughter still another, till today it is a delightful, inconsequent collection of apartments with seven outside doors and as many little porches.

When war broke over the land in 1861 it found nowhere, I suppose, a more peaceful spot than Flower de Hundred upon which to work its will. The plantation had its hundred and seventy-five slaves, settled in three or four well situated and airy "quarters," its private wharf where great grain ships came empty and went away full, its barns and store houses. It salted its own herring and pork, grew its own sheep whose wool furnished cloth which was spun, cut, and made into wearing apparel by a special corps of trained hands. In short, it was a world in itself like many another James River farm which was never again to know such prosperity.

The first war experience of the place was the burning of its new wharf in the spring of 1862, by order of the Confederate Government, to discourage the landing of the enemy on the south side of the river. The troopers sent to execute the order made quick work of the structure. The smoke of pine and cypress was Flower de Hundred's "first incense to the god of war." About this time a number of unexploded shells, aimed at a gun-boat in the stream, descended upon the place from Stuart's battery during his famous march around McClellan. They are now gathered in a group upon the lawn.

In June of 1864 General Grant arrived at River Edge, a point on the north bank of the James, and began his famous crossing of the stream, 130,000 strong. The landing was effected on Windmill Point. This feat, accomplished in two days under a brilliant sky in floods of sunshine, was a glorious sight as described by Grant's generals—the overcoming of natural forces by the great machine of war. But to the gentle mistress of the farm, alone with her aged mother and a few faithful servants, the picture had its reverse side. She watched the tramping through "some promising cornfields", the bivouac about her house, the farm covered with soldiers, tents, batteries, horses, and wagons. When the soldiers went away there were floors torn up and wanton gashes in the mahogany stair-rail, marble hearths broken, and the memory of one trooper disappearing up the road

decked in the bridal veil and orange blossoms of a newly-married daughter of the house. Long afterwards the broken marble was gathered up as a sacred relic and became a hearth again—this time a mosaic.

Life at the old home under the new conditions became inexpedient. The labor problem is not a factor in the county; it was solved long ago by the disappearance of the laborer.

There has been discussion as to the origin of the name of the old plantation. The probable, if prosaic, explanation is that, for some reason, it received the name of old Flowerdieu, the London land agent. The first spelling in 1619 is Flowerdieu Hundred. Next comes Flowerdew in 1636. Other spellings obtain: Flowerdewe, Flowerdee, and even Florida, manifestly the vagaries of as many clerks. However, in 1649 we find it written Flower de Hundred. So the corruption, if corruption it be, is almost as old as the place itself.

Whatever its origin or meaning, something in its pleasing sound has attracted the southern story-teller, and in at least three of our colonial and *ante bellum* tales its name and fame have been enshrined.

Slowly but surely nature has put out her hand to claim the land—except that small part which the vigilance of a few faithful ones will not yet relinquish. Six miles of water-front and a land-boundary "somewhere up in the woods" enclose the sleeping acres.

"The place is silent and aware  
It has had its scenes, its joys, and crimes,  
But that is its own affair."

## The Function of the College

DAVID MARTIN KEY

A college education is an expensive business. From Valparaiso upwards, it takes a good bit of money and of time. And the undergraduate betrays an exquisite inability to appreciate how much. Two thousand dollars would be a low average for the money cost. What this means of saving and self-sacrifice on the part of the parents, is seldom realized by the lad who is passing through the process of being educated. The folks may be on Easy Street now. Father's coat sleeve may not be shiny. Mother may have all the help she needs, and they may meet Son at the station with the new car when he comes home for the Christmas holidays. But there was a period of which he knows nothing—a period of unremitting toil, scrupulous thrift, and anxious planning that preceded and made possible this easy-going plenty. He cannot remember the lean years when his parents staked the promise of their youth upon the Boy. Yet in many a case, if he is not actually spending all that his parents can make beyond their narrowest present needs, he is enjoying, as they have become incapable of doing, the investment of their unreturning youth. He is quite as incapable of appreciating the value of this putative two thousand dollars as an investment. Wisely and fortunately laid out in some rapidly developing section of our country, it may easily, in the next ten or fifteen years, amount to twenty or thirty thousand dollars.

And the time! "The days of man's years are three score and ten years." So said the Psalmist of old. But the average expectation of life now, according to the insurance companies, is about forty years. If that is so, nearly half of the time during which the student can confidently expect to engage in activities on earth has already been used up before he enters college. Twenty years or so remain. The four college years will constitute one-fifth or one-sixth of his remaining capital of time. Four years! Why, the Civil War was fought in as little time as that. Fortunes have been made, maidens have been won, and empires lost in less. Four years of youth, of that for which men pine! Four

golden years of possibility and of exuberant life! The primrose path! The exquisite mantling of the liquor of manhood!

Can one afford to invest this money and this time in an absolutely non-productive material? Not unless this period is going to have a peculiarly vivifying and fructifying influence on the remainder of life. Not, in this hard-headed and calculating time, unless one can see very definite effects in after-efficiency and result-getting power.

The most obvious product of the college course is a certain amount of systematized knowledge. Time was when, within the bounds of the civilized world, and for the space of two thousand years, the body of that knowledge was essentially the same. Then was there a vast fellowship of educated men. From Timbuctoo to the Hyperborean Fields, from 1860 to the year one, educated men were brothers in knowledge. But now the field of knowledge has enlarged so greatly, and arbitrary election has cut from this field curricula so diverse, that even great scholars in different departments can sometimes scarcely converse with each other except on trivial topics of the day. The vast democratic mood of our day does not manifest itself in the fellowship of learning, but in community of styles. All men do not know the same things, but all men wear the same hats and "varsity" clothes, use safety razors and thin model watches, and have nickel instead of brass trimmings on their automobiles. Everything is becoming standardized except education.

Here there is one vast welter of experimentation. Every group of related facts is being tried out as the basis of the educational process. And we cannot look for uniformity again. For this educational process is being applied to the training of all classes. Its aims and functions are manifold, its methods and materials will likewise be diverse. In reality, the vocational training and professional equipment which now share the name of education with the traditional material, are essentially different from it. The body of knowledge included in college courses has been legitimately modified, it is true, by the expansion of the field of knowledge and the shifting values of the different branches of learning; and in some cases perhaps mistakenly affected by the introduction of vocational training as education. The same error which injects the classics into vocational drill will permit shop-work

and salesmanship as part of the educational work of the colleges. Nevertheless, the colleges have as yet maintained their identity of character and of function. They still present, within varying limits, bodies of knowledge that have much in common, which may be analyzed according to the same classifications, and which have a definite function, different from that of the industrial courses.

The material of the college course may be classified as knowledge of the outer world and knowledge of the human heart—the sciences and the humanities. As we live our life in this world, we are constantly subject to the reactions of two sets of influences, that of the material world about us and that of the world of fellow spirits who attend us on our pilgrimage. Whatever determinative reactions we may project upon the non-ego must likewise affect one or the other of these two worlds. A general knowledge of the truths of these two worlds, and of the strange fabric of law, order, system, and reason which underlies them both, is necessary if we are to plan and conduct an intelligent and efficient career through life. It is because we live in a reasonable world that we are reasonable creatures. It is in proportion to the degree in which we have, consciously or unconsciously, assimilated these laws and formed our habits of mind upon them that we are above the clods. Without this knowledge, a man is an inert and aimless thing, propelled at random by physical impulses, hunger and cold and passion, and by the more determinative purposes of his fellow spirits. That is not saying that he will be a destructive or even an obstructive agency in social progress. Without this knowledge, he may function smoothly, as the horse functions, but more or less blindly and unintelligently. He will earn a good living, marry and raise a family, eat Thanksgiving dinner with a grateful heart, and die in the faith of his fathers. He will unconsciously imbibe and even help to create the spirit of his times. But without that body of general knowledge, that comprehensive view which it is the province of the college to convey, without that orientation of himself in the physical and material universe, he will remain the "man with the hoe" evermore; "food for powder," as Napoleon said; or, to industrialize the metaphor, "labor cost," a tool to be used by more self-conscious intelligences.

Knowledge of the outer world is conveyed by general courses in physics, chemistry, biology, geology, all the sciences of natural phenomena; mathematics, or the science of those number relations that so mysteriously underlie all natural phenomena; history and the social sciences, being the account of man's activities in relation to the material world and in contact with his fellows; and philosophy, the science of the mind and brain from the objective standpoint. The purpose of these courses is to convey general ideas and knowledge of the material facts that condition our activities, to afford a notion of our place in the order of creation, to give one poise and perspective in the work of his own domain. The conception that gives science a dominating place in the college course because of its marvelous achievements in making the wheels of life run smoothly is entirely erroneous. Brief science courses as given in the colleges do not contribute directly to the alleviations of life, but to comprehensiveness of view. The extreme probabilities are that I shall never make use of the fact that I learned from seeing a feather and a penny drop side by side in a vacuum tube. Science is daily working beneficent wonders. Therefore we celebrate science and richly reward scientific investigators of new and profitable fields. But it is very unscientific to infer from these practical benefits that this field of learning is exclusively or peculiarly fitted to lead out the groping spirit into an understanding that will make for efficiency. Such a conclusion can be reached only by long observation of the actual results of such use of exclusively or mainly scientific courses as educational material, or by deep and close analysis of the essential functions of education, and of the suitability of natural courses to perform these functions.

There remain of the materials of the college course, the languages. Language is a product of the material world, a natural phenomenon, and must be studied as a science, its characteristic reactions classified and correlated, and its laws observed and formulated. But language is vastly more than philology. This thing which has grown and developed by increments according to natural laws, and has been subject to evolutionary change, enshrines a something not material but spiritual, the thoughts and feelings and moral reactions of men in times past, the very life and spirit of those whose influence has been most abiding in

our world. Here is a field of knowledge as vast as human nature. It will not lend itself to system and law and codification as will the knowledge of the material world. But it is not therefore less real and important knowledge. Here is a marvel past all knowing—that language, the framework of which is material, is informed with the living spirit. It is the only living thing that man has created. It has made possible that all the spirit life of the past and the distant should speak to us intimately—battling heroic hearts; benign spirits of saints; wild, turbulent souls, caught helpless on the wheel of things; the very quintessential gladness of radiant civilizations and stark gloom of days foredone. In idiom, in proverb, and in folksong, the moods, attitudes, and purposes of a whole race are alive and speaking. I say nothing at this point of the moral effect and developments attendant upon such familiarity with the free action of spiritual and mental life caught in the records of the past. But the intellectual effect is almost identical with that shrewd insight into human nature, its habitual and exceptional courses, instinct and motive, desire and disgust, which is otherwise to be acquired only by much experience of actual life.

These two elements, science and language, will thus be seen to constitute the typical college course, and to perform the enlightening functions I have suggested. Most of the colleges now offer two courses, the A. B., in which the language element predominates, and the B. S., in which the science element predominates. They differ only in the emphasis placed upon these elements. By the system of electives, the freedom of choice of the student is still further enlarged. But in all institutions there are still certain restrictions that are designed to secure some degree of comprehensiveness in the outlook on the universe. In other words, the colleges, while influenced, and as some think unduly influenced, by the prevailing confusion of mind as to the difference between education and vocational drill, still maintain the liberating ideal anciently embodied in the word educate.

Another and incidental function of the college is to familiarize with the methods and instruments and processes of learning. Libraries and laboratories, card-indexes and microscopes, the search for facts and phenomena and the search for authorities, these become familiar resources. The A. B. or B. S. graduate

should not only have a comprehensive general view of the world of knowledge, but he should be competent to continue his acquirements in any field, either in the graduate school or by independent investigation. This is that free world of thought into which he is introduced through the college course. The universities recognize this function of the colleges by admitting the bachelor to "graduate" work, a kind of research which is supposed to demand familiarity with the methods of scholarship.

The third function of the college course is to produce in the personality certain changes and developments. This may be called a by-product of education, but it is nevertheless an almost inevitable one and is directly dependent on the nature of the subjects presented, the manner of their presentation, and the personal character and beliefs of the instructors. Though a by-product, it is more important to the future of the student, in all ways, than the obvious fruits of the college course. It is conceivable that a student might go through the course merely cramming away the information acquired without relating it to life or to himself in any way. In that case the educational process is a failure. All schools are proud of this indefinable stamp that they put upon a man, and alumni rolls record with the greatest satisfaction achievements of their members which could not possibly be a result of scholarship acquired, but are born of fine qualities of soul which they are fain to believe have been developed under the inspiring influence of alma mater. There has been a deal of squabbling by rival types of institution over the quality and nature of this formative influence which plays upon the personality during the adolescent period. (It may be remarked that the spiritual readjustments that follow the acquisition of a considerable body of new knowledge at any age mark a state similar to adolescence.) The smaller colleges proceed upon the thesis that this influence is something in the nature of an infectious disease, to be contracted from "personal contact" with the instructor. The great and wealthy institutions, on the other hand, lend themselves to the creation of an "atmosphere" and, in the absence of a venerable antiquity, affect to impose upon the spirit by the domination of massive architecture, or by sheer weight of high-priced scholarship, or highly organized machinery of administration. In the denominational colleges, in

turn, religious influences are made paramount. It will be observed that these claims are all vague. And this vagueness has been the ground of much acrimony of debate. The secular schools have denounced the sanctimonious assumption of a character-shaping piety as a "fraud upon the young," while themselves making similarly vague claims of producing "social efficiency." It would perhaps be helpful in deciding the relative values of "character" and "efficiency" as products or by-products of the educational process, and at the same time enable us more intelligently and deliberately to attain these ends, if we could be specific as to how they are produced. For the two words taken together summarize concisely the moral reflexes which it is the third function of the college to establish.

Efficiency is indeed the great word. If there be truly any kind of training that can increase the efficiency of the individual, it is a contribution to human welfare not second to making two blades of grass grow in the place of one. The trade schools aim at efficiency in handling with certain tools; the technical schools at efficiency in dealing with certain natural laws; but the colleges aim at a personal efficiency that without limiting the aim of effort shall direct it and apply it so intelligently as to get a full equivalent in result. Efficiency is in fact a personal matter. In men, as in machinery, it demands the elimination of lost motion, friction, heat, and waste. It means the transformation of energy with least loss into results—the turning of your matutinal toast and eggs into the greatest amount and the highest type of constructive thinking and acting between eight o'clock and noon. It is a result of, first, a certain healthy functioning of the body, muscles, and nerves, and vital organs, which is characterized by a co-ordinating tendency to make all motions rhythmic; second, a quick and ready response of this body to the mind; but, third, it depends mainly on a systematizing habit of mind that is the result of training. All of these developments of facility are in fact forwarded by drill. The old notion that education was a process of developing the various faculties of the mind by exercise is now in some quarters discredited. The effort is made to restrict the function of education to the mere supplying of useful knowledge. It is a part of the general attack on the cultural subjects. But no amount of experimentation in the psychological

laboratory can disprove the age-long experience that "practice makes perfect." And not only does practice make perfect, but practice makes perfection more easily attainable in other fields. The reflexes established in the nerve ganglia soon make an habitual movement almost automatic. Since all movements of which the body is capable are composed of simpler elementary movements, it is quite evident that the synthesis of reflex motions will give all the effect of acquired skill. In a similar way, mental processes become habitual and (in a loose use of the term) instinctive. The general methods of attack, the elimination of the non-essential, the analysis of the residue, the comparative view of ends and means, these are simple acts of correlation, comparison, and judgment, and are quite as much subject to the habit-forming tendency as the movements of the body. The physical changes (whatever they be) are as inevitably produced in the gray matter of the brain as in the gray matter of the nerve ganglia. Now, it is the establishing of these simple and elementary thought-processes as habitual that does most to bring about personal efficiency—the treading out of the brain-paths through which direct and original and essential connections of ideas are made. Any kind of well-directed constructive activity during the plastic period when the organic rhythms and reflexes of the body and the mind are being established will make for efficiency in the modern world. The ends of life in our day—the devising of a means to turn ten thousand volts of electricity into upholstered, smoothly-gliding motion, the wording of an "ad" that will get results from a certain city crowd whose psychology has been thoroughly card-catalogued, the nice calculation of how high a tariff a certain traffic will "bear"—the ends of life in our day, require a kind of ratiocination very different from and far more straightforward than the intricate dialectic of the school men. You can get that practice in observation, comparison, and judgment, in connecting cause and effect, means and end, in the Louisville and Nashville machine shops in Birmingham and in the Manual Training High School in Kansas City. But the methods of acquiring knowledge as they are now practiced in a college afford the best of all approaches to that facility and directness of thought-process that constitutes personal efficiency. The most essential and constant operation in the whole procedure is the

noting and establishing of system in the mass of facts. The contact with and perception of law and order and consistency in the phenomena of the external world produces in the mind recurrent reactions which establish themselves as the normal order of activity. And this system and consistency of things—metal and mineral and plant, heat and light and motion, thought and the acts of men—is far more completely and explicitly comprehended in the work of the college than in any business of life or educational copy thereof.

Moreover, the approach to these protean manifestations of order and intelligence is through a series of definite tasks that necessitate those same orderly activities of comparison, classification, inference and judgment, that are constantly operative in practical life. Certainly this is true of the newer methods of instruction which lead the student to approach his task from the constructive, problem-solving, independent standpoint. The methodical process of acquiring skill in reading a foreign language, of relating new words, cases, and constructions with definite meanings to thought and then expressing this thought; the methodical process of learning mathematics by independently solving "originals;" the methodical process of learning history by independently tracing movements and their causes through the sources; the methodical process of learning a science by independently formulating laws from phenomena, of calculating results from laws and verifying them by experiment—here are the very activities which are relied upon in all industrial training to produce efficiency. It is a significant fact that the producers of personal efficiency on a commercial basis, the schools of salesmanship maintained by the great sales-organizations like the typewriter companies and the insurance companies, the apprentice systems of great industrial organizations like the Westinghouse Company, and the correspondence school enterprises, all make use of the most approved class-room methods. It may as well be at once confessed that these methods and processes may be followed with a slackness of performance on the part of the pupil and of exaction on the part of the teacher that is directly productive of the most reckless inefficiency. Only the most rigorous fidelity to all the minutiae of this process of acquiring learning can surpass, in building habits of efficiency, the long grind of

practical tasks under some martinet of a factory superintendent. And one occasionally yearns for a college conducted on the exacting lines of West Point or Annapolis, where scholars could apply the drastic discipline of liberal studies to the development of a personal efficiency that would make the world itself seem like a fostering mother! Certainly a growing realization of this formative function of the college is going to affect methods of instruction, to reform the whole process of imparting and acquiring knowledge upon activities which will establish reflexes most nearly approximating the activities of real life. And these efficiency-favoring reflexes most nearly approximating the activities of real life will be most quickly established, not by imitating in miniature life-activities, but by apperception, through favorable procedures, of that variable body of knowledge which makes up the college course. There is a considerable field here for that application of intelligence to detail and method which nowadays goes under the name of "scientific management." There will likewise be required deep and meticulous investigation of the psychological basis involved, and a number of years yet of experimentation in that larger laboratory—the educational system of the country. But the ultimate verdict, already foreshadowed, will be that it is a function of the college course to confer the widest personal efficiency.

Character, like efficiency, is a matter of habits and reflexes. It becomes fixed in the formative years. In so far, it is therefore a plausible theory that makes paramount the spiritual quality of the influences thrown round this period. If indeed the moral direction of the efficiency that is being developed can be determined by influences, no greater task can be given into a man's hands than the wielding of these influences. It is a task that should be approached with the most serious and systematic intelligence. There is no room here for the least cant or looseness in planning or thinking. One must endeavor to seize and analyze the intangible correlations of impulse and act, of emotional tension and determinative discharge, of admiration and moral judgment. If one adds to these nuances of moral tone the inexplicable manifestations of emotional religious experience, he gets a medium of the most refined and complex gradations of effect in which creative personality ever wrought. One class of educators choose to ig-

nore these elements in their problem as "unpractical," and commit themselves to a system that, according to the well-known aphorism of Prince Bismarck, sends two-thirds of their raw material to the scrap heap; while a second class, though magnifying the importance of the moral and spiritual adjustments that take place during the college lustrum, leave them to be taken care of by a rather hazy religious "atmosphere" and the annual revival. And yet character, while an infinitely more complex product, is subject to the same rules of development as efficiency. It is a matter of habits and reflexes, and may be styled moral efficiency. As the processes of acquiring knowledge necessitate certain preliminary acts or movements of the mind, which become habitual, so this knowledge when it has been apperceived produces definite reactions and adjustments which tend to repeat themselves. The quality of these moral reactions, as they crystallize into habit, determines character and is itself decided by (a) previously established tendencies, (b) subtly and, it may be, unconsciously communicated suggestions of the moral attitude of the instructor, and (c) the self-determination of the individual in each case. Of these, (a) does not come within our province, while (c) merely introduces that uncertainty that will be found in all problems where an indeterminate quantity like the human will is a factor. The moral attitude of the instructor in his interpretation of truth is therefore the only direct approach to the formation of character in education. By suggestion and by sympathy, he can develop right instincts and foster fine enthusiasms! Traveling through the curriculum, the student is brought in vital touch with the moral crises of life.

The "scientific spirit" will imbue all science courses. This noble ideal of unswerving devotion to the truth is the most precious contribution of science to the world, far beyond all material advantages and consolations that have been wrested from nature. The sheer moral effect of dwelling daily with this rectifying conception, squaring our action by it, staking our lives and our fortunes on it, is developing an entirely new social and political philosophy. It has rearranged the principles of the advertising world, inspired the Progressive movement in politics, and informs with a wonderful simplicity the latest and biggest religious propaganda of the day—The Men and Religion Forward Movement.

It is the most heroic aspiration of the human heart, and no right-minded lad can escape the temper of that high loyalty to the truth at any cost upon which the processes of his mind are being constantly moulded. He is establishing a habit of integrity, an intellectual conscience that cannot blink inaccuracy, a satisfying faith in the ultimate beneficence of simple reality. The imagination is captured by an ideal more compelling than the traditions of chivalry. The heart is touched, and matter-of-fact science becomes the evangel of the liberating Gospel of Truth.

The inhibition of falsehood which is so essential to true manhood is, however, almost the only moral reflex established by the whole scientific branch of the curriculum. The study of literature, on the other hand, brings one face to face with manifold problems in conduct. That is the function of literature—to counterfeit life in its most poignant crises. It has, in fact, this great advantage over life as a moral teacher that it can pick and choose from all the most affecting and significant experiences and impose them upon the soul in ordered succession. It develops within the magic space of a few pages the emotional effects and moral convictions of years. With infinite subtlety of suggestion, it re-creates in a twentieth century breast the high devotions of chivalry or the stern heroisms of ancient Rome, and renews them again and again until an attitude of soul is established, an emotional habit is set up, the moral fibre is fixed. Art in this extraordinary manner, by symbols and devices, creates the veritable illusion of a great emotional experience. And its range is a thousand times greater than the possible range of experiences in the most romantic and adventurous of lives. It makes real and present and emotionally effective the life of the past and the distant, and condenses the moral judgments and reactions of a lifetime into a few years. There is but one element lacking in the psychological effect. It is this. The artificial experiences of the class room and the study do not culminate in action. The emotional tension is not fixed and authenticated by practical effort. This is a serious lack, indeed, but is inevitable from the very nature of the character-shaping enterprise which endeavors to condense the wisdom of a lifetime into a few short years. And it is not a fatal defect. Thus to know the thought-life and the heart-life of men of other races and of other climes and other centuries, to sympathize with and un-

derstand the emotions and purposes of the human heart under manifold conditions, brings wisdom, balance, intellectual sympathy, that interpretative understanding and tolerant attitude that alone ought to be called culture. There is no one quite so generous in his sympathies as your young college graduate except the old man who has lived long and suffered much. The college course has been likened by Robert Louis Stevenson and others to a world where we see all things fore-shortened and generation follows generation at four-year intervals. It is an illuminating conceit with many piquant analogies and a very real basis of truth. To live for four years in intimate communion with the great hearts of all ages and all times bestows a wisdom that only life itself and manifold contacts with men can otherwise confer. This is the real inner significance of the college education. It equips with a certain field of knowledge which admits to a more and more limited free-masonry of learning; and it develops a certain degree of facility and efficiency; all of which things other types of education claim to do better. But no other system of training can pretend thus to epitomize the spiritual significances of a lifetime. It will be a great disaster if the influence of other types of training for life shall destroy this, the most significant element in the college education. The application of the educational process to the training of workers in all fields is a wonderful development and is changing the face of the world. But it is directed towards and affects that vast body of young men who before were not educated at all. There is as yet no indication that it can produce the higher types of intelligence and of character—the reformer, the artist, the statesman. Yet as long as we have an increasingly complex civilization there will be needed not fewer but more men of this catholic type which as yet only the college has consistently produced.

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE FRAMING OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. By Max Farrand. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1913,—ix, 281 pp. \$2 net.

AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. By Charles A. Beard. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913,—vii, 330 pp. \$2.25.

The work of the convention which framed the constitution of the United States has long been, and will ever be, a subject of inquiry. One reason for this is that the "fathers" kept their proceedings secret, that the official journal when finally published proved defective, and to gain an adequate conception of what took place behind closed doors a vast amount of miscellaneous evidence has had to be collected and sifted. A deeper cause of interest in the convention is that each generation of the American people will always make some test of our fundamental written constitution from the angle of their political and economic problems.

Each of these interests is illustrated by the works under review. For over a decade Professor Farrand has been engaged in collecting and editing all material that might throw light on activities in the convention. The result of his labors was the publication in 1911 of his monumental *Records of the Federal Convention*. The aim of the present study is to give a narrative of the proceedings in the convention, based on the sources. It is safe to say that in organization and presentation of material Professor Farrand's account of the body is the best at hand. He has skillfully accomplished a two-fold task: he allows the reader to follow the deliberative processes viz.: the introduction of plans, the debates of the committee of the whole, the work of the committees on detail and style, etc., until the finished product appears; at the same time there is ever kept before one's mind some great problem.

Turning to the subject matter, the chief value of Professor Farrand's investigations has been to give a new perspective to the conventional view of the compromises in the constitution. Concerning the clauses fixing representation, he shows that the double

system based on states and population can no longer be unreservedly called the "Connecticut Compromise", that in apportioning membership in the lower house the fundamental conflict was between east and west rather than north and south, and the three to five ratio of whites and slaves was not original but derived from the existing system of the Confederation. Also in marked contrast to the older accounts of the convention is the emphasis placed on the controversy over the election of the President, the antagonism between the east and the west, the question of admitting new states, and the close relation between the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution. However, on one important question the information given is not sufficiently explicit, that of the right of courts to declare laws of Congress unconstitutional. We read that "it was generally assumed by the leading men in the convention that this power existed." Yet as a matter of fact this power was a nascent one in the states, it was not mentioned in the debate on the federal judiciary but in that relating to the proposed council of revision, when eight favored conferring the power and four opposed it, and the presidential veto was agreed upon as a substitute. Among those favoring this power of courts Professor Farrand mentions Madison and cites from the debates; but at another point in the debates, which is not quoted, Madison clearly opposed unlimited exercise of the power in question (cf. Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, Vol. II, pp. 93, 430). It is also worth noting that Hamilton's conversion to the idea came after the convention adjourned, some time between writing *Federalist No. 33* and *No. 78*.

Every careful reader will regret that Professor Farrand is not more generous with footnotes. It would also have been well to have given in an introductory chapter an account of the sources for the convention and the story of their exploitation. Certain technical points, such as the influence of Pelatiah Webster and the Pinckney plan, are outlined; but references to the literature relating to them should have been cited. In describing the members of the convention, Alexander Martin, of North Carolina, is reported as "being dismissed from the army for cowardice in the battle of Germantown"; however the sources indicate that he was tried by court martial and found not guilty (cf. *Colonial Records of N. C.* x, 677).

The aim of Professor Farrand is to clarify the procedure and actual work of the convention; that of Professor Beard is to present a motive for the movement which produced the convention and a keynote to its deliberations and their finished product, the constitution. These are found in the economic interests of the members of the convention and of those who were in sympathy with their work. The process by which this conclusion is reached is novel. An analysis of the "economic interests" is presented, which consisted of real property and "personalty", the latter including money, securities, trade and manufactures. The membership of the convention is next examined, showing that nearly all of those favoring the constitution as completed were holders of continental securities, that throughout the country those engaged in manufactures and sea-faring desired a protective tariff, and that the legal profession, well represented in the convention, naturally supported these economic interests. In order to appreciate their holdings and to secure governmental aid to industry by a tariff, an attempt was made by the class just described to secure amendments to the Articles of Confederation through the regular procedure. However the farmers and debtors successfully opposed the movement; thereupon the "personalty" interests began to criticise the Articles of Confederation and to misrepresent the conditions under them, which were in truth very good; finally they secured the constitutional convention, whose real aim was to secure a redemption of the public debt through a system of taxation, protection against agrarian legislation in the states by forbidding the abrogation of contracts, and power to levy a high tariff. Thus the federal constitution is "an economic document drawn with superb skill by men whose property interests were immediately at stake, . . . . the work of a consolidated group whose interests knew no state boundaries and were truly national in their scope."

Such an "economic interpretation" is obviously a half truth. Undoubtedly economic matters were the basis of the movement which resulted in the constitution; but their scope was much wider than Professor Beard allows. For instance, state currency was unquestionably a serious economic problem, for seven states embarked in a paper money policy from 1783 to 1787; yet Professor Beard makes this financial anarchy secondary in import-

ance to the depreciation of continental securities held by the "fathers". Moreover, some of the states were engaged in commercial warfare with each other; this "economic interpretation" is entirely overlooked. Then there was the question of commercial relations with foreign countries, equally economic and totally neglected. Finally, might not the records show that some of those who opposed the constitution also held continental securities? In the light of these facts, is it safe to interpret the constitution as a class document in which the "personalty" interests won a victory over the farmers and debtors? Is it good judgment to make the guarantee of the public debt, the power to levy taxes and duties, and protection of contracts, the economic features of the constitution to the neglect of the abolition of paper money, the power over interstate commerce, and placing treaties on a par with the supreme law of the land?

Professor Beard's argument has two faults so often found in polemics, contradiction and insufficient evidence. On one page we learn that the members of the Cincinnati "were usually men of some means and were not compelled to sacrifice their holdings to speculators at outrageously low prices" (p 38). But Washington, the wealthiest man in Virginia, was obliged to sell at twenty to one (p 146); might not others less wealthy than he have sold at a sacrifice? In the choice of delegates to the convention the "personalty" interests were successful; if there was so much economic conflict between the farmers and the security holders and traders, how could this result have been secured when the landed class controlled the legislatures which elected the delegates? (p 271-272). In ratification we are told that "personalty" was again guarded by resort to the constitutional convention which proceeded directly from the people, in which "personalty" had a better chance than in the legislatures (p 219); yet in five states the majorities of the conventions were clearly opposed to ratification. Again in discussing the elections to the conventions we are told that approximately 100,000, out of 160,000 voting, favored ratification, (p 250); on the next page we find that "it may well be that a majority of those who voted were against the adoption of the constitution as it then stood" (p 251). After all if the constitution was so clearly an economic issue, why was so much of the opposition conciliated by promises

of amendments in which questions of personal liberty and states rights predominated?

In the use of sources and authorities Professor Beard is not thorough. The only sources he has consulted not hitherto used are the records of the Treasury Department which give an inventory of the continental stock. The vast quantity of state laws and documents, court decisions, newspapers and pamphlets are not utilized. The leading secondary authorities used are university monographs; even here some have been overlooked, notably the studies of Professor Bullock in the public finances of the time. Mention of Fiske's *Critical Period* to the exclusion of McLaughlin's *Confederation and Constitution* is also suggestive. The reviewer believes that old conceptions should be questioned, that motives of public men should be tested, that more attention must be paid to economic history; but new conclusions and generalizations should always be based on research wider and deeper than that under criticism, even if they are meant to be merely suggestive.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

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THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. By John Macy. New York: Doubleday, Page and Company. 1913. 347 pp.

There are several ways in which John Macy's book on American writers stands out from other works of the same nature. It differs, especially, in plan, selection, arrangement, and personality. The plan is made clear in an introductory chapter on "General Characteristics" where the author discusses the spirit of American literature both in kind—which he finds English (or negative) and in degree—which he finds medium. But such a classification is not applied relentlessly: Hawthorne, of course, is not put under the first nor Whitman under the second. Yet in spite of exceptions and qualifications Mr. Macy succeeds in justifying his contention, and his insistence upon it gives unity to his book. American authors are presented not as personalities, primarily, but as interpreters of American thought. And they are not chosen according to literature-etiquette. The colonial writers Mr. Macy considers not "American" at all, and with hardly a word of explanation, certainly none of apology, he sweeps the Mather-Wiglesworth-Brown-Franklin company into a heap of Respectable Relics; and he opens his literature at Irving.

Following Irving are studies of Cooper, Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, Poe, Holmes, Thoreau, Lowell, Whitman, Mark Twain, Howells, William James, Lanier, Henry James. It is probably these last six chapters that will interest the reader most. The author gives more space to Whitman than to any other writer, and he quotes from him generously. Mr. Macy says: "Rightly comprehended, Whitman's central theme is a cosmic declaration of sympathy, a reverberant announcement of the love and imagination which enable the great artist to identify himself with all the joys and sorrows of man." Mark Twain is included among the "emergent figures," the reader may infer, because of "his portrait of Mankind. And that is the greatest canvas that any American has painted;" Howells, because while he "has not had a great deal to say that is significant, he has said everything in an unimprovable manner"; William James, because of his "humanity and imagination"; Lanier, because "he is a poet of nature and things, of the meaning of central present things, that harry and strengthen the heart of man." These five men indubitably represent the self expression which is a part of the American spirit; but for Henry James there seems to be no valid reason for inclusion except that, as Mr. Macy says, "We cannot yield him from our poverty to the riches of the English novel."

In arrangement, this volume displays the same common sense that influenced the choice of writers. Most studies in literature emphasize biography irrespective of intrinsic interest or interpretative possibilities. Mr. Macy reduces his Lives to a bare statement of fact. But while he condenses, he does not omit. Each author is presented through critical comment; biographical notes; a list of works (dated); a list of biographies, studies, and essays, with a brief judgment of each.

The fourth quality that marks Mr. Macy's book is Mr. Macy himself. He is always in sight of the reader and generally in touch with him. But not always, for in criticism the presence of a strong personal element in the author is apt to arouse a very human contrariness in the reader. Moreover, an acutely personal attitude endangers perspective. In this book there are certain heads of Charles the First—such as university faculties and jejune courses in literature—that loom large in many a literary landscape. But this same individuality of mind makes for good read-

ing. The author has, too, a knack of phrasing, a gift of sententious expression, and an art of sentence structure which ensure ease and clearness. And he possesses an ironic humor that gives life to his most casual statement. He looks into (and through) persons, institutions and conditions, and announces his conclusions with an emphasis that must win attention and should win agreement.

CAROLINE FRANCIS RICHARDSON  
Newcomb College, Tulane University.

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WHAT CAN LITERATURE DO FOR ME. By C. Alphonso Smith. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1913.—228 pp.

In the volume bearing the title quoted above, Professor Smith has written a most helpful book for all persons in need of a guide to the study of literature. As suggested by the title, the book is addressed primarily to younger students and untrained readers,—those who have not yet learned the correct approach to literature and who really need to be informed as to some of the things they should seek in it and how they should endeavor to find what they ought to seek. The intention of the author was not to offer here a series of literary criticisms, however strikingly suggestive and well taken many of his passing appreciations of poems and authors are, but rather his purpose was a practical one. In fact, his volume is unique just for this reason: it is a book about literature by one well versed in it and devoted to it, and yet it is at all places intelligible to those who are seeking light on a subject too often made darker by writers who profess to illuminate it. Furthermore, the book is evidently by an experienced teacher of literature, not a professional critic. It will therefore be of great help to other teachers, and ought to be recommended by them to all students beginning the study of literature. While it will not make poets or clear headed critics of them, it will prove at once of great value in the way of disclosing new points of view from which to regard their work. And I believe also that it will hasten the coming to them of a taste for good books.

Of the six studies, or lectures, showing the most obvious and immediate profit to be derived from the study of literature, the first is probably the best. It is here that the author explains

that literature should furnish us with an outlet and not an inlet; that is, that we should find in literature nobly and beautifully expressed that which we have but dimly seen or dumbly felt, and thus by means of our reading actually live, as it were, a wider, deeper, nobler life. The other benefits to come, according to the author, are the vision of the ideal, a better knowledge of human nature, a knowledge of, and an interest in, the past, an appreciation of the glory of the commonplace, and a mastery of one's own language. All of these points of view are interestingly developed by Dr. Smith.

With no intention at carping criticism the reviewer must say that there are occasional assertions in the book that can hardly go unchallenged. For example, page 140: "But the two great masters to whom the civilized world is most indebted for its *knowledge* [the italics are mine] of the past are Shakespeare and Scott." Again, which is more widely known and is the surer of earthly immortality, Arthur Hallam or Helen Fourment, the second wife of Rubens and the model for his famous paintings, is probably a question not so readily answerable in favor of the former as the author seems to imply on page 129. Tennyson is hardly a world poet and may never become one; Rubens certainly is a world painter. It seems to the reader, too, that the author's choice of passages from Tennyson and Browning, page 43, to show that poets by intuition often antedate scientists in their discoveries is not very happy. These poets were contemporaries of Darwin. There are so many earlier poets who might have been chosen to illustrate his contention, which is, of course, true. There are likewise at times infelicitous expressions or comparisons in the book, such as, page 13, "But they have one thing in common: they grip human life with the *open* hand." [The italics are mine.] Or, page 220, "Sentences, then, like bananas grow in bunches, these bunches are paragraphs." Such shortcomings are all the more noticeable because of the generally excellent style of the book.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

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THE OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM, 1660-1754. PART I, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SYSTEM, 1660-1688. By George Louis Beer. 2 vols. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.—xvi, 381, 382 pp. \$4.00.

Readers familiar with Mr. Beer's "Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660" and "British Colonial Policy, 1754-

1765" can easily imagine the character of the contents of the present work. As the author himself expresses it, in these volumes he is treating the same subject in a period which leaves it "not only unhampered by problems of origin, but . . . to a great extent liberated from the controversial questions which were ultimately decided, if not solved, by the ordeal of battle." In other words, Mr. Beer is here dealing with the dead level of the history of the "colonial system" with the slightest possible chance for a departure from the natural order of development. Obviously, before we go further, we must ascertain what the author means by the term, "colonial system", which he admits "has no precise connotation, and is susceptible of varying meanings of more or less ample extension." Perhaps it is well to let Mr. Beer give his own definition of the sense in which he makes use of the phrase. "It is synonymous with that complex system of regulations whose fundamental aim was to create a self-sufficient commercial empire of mutually complementary economic parts." In short, Mr. Beer is here dealing with the economic theories current in England and the commercial and fiscal policies of the government, as far as they pertained to colonial affairs, in the period of the Restoration, from 1660 to 1688.

In the first volume are five chapters dealing respectively with "The Colonial Policy of the Period", "The Laws of Trade and Navigation and Imperial Defence", "The English Fiscal System and Imperial Finance", "Central and Local Administrative Machinery", and "The Slave Trade and the Plantation Colonies". These chapters are really a series of short monographs loosely joined together and composed of almost appalling collections of data rather than of any clearly defined theories or well established conclusions. In the second volume the author describes the local commercial and economic problems peculiar to the several colonies in seven chapters devoted respectively to "Barbados and the Leeward Islands", "Jamaica and the Outlying Islands", "Virginia and Maryland", "The Carolinas", "Newfoundland", "Massachusetts", and "The Dominion of New England."

A mere glance at the footnotes of these volumes impels one to commend the industry of their author in his researches. The sources which he has used are familiar to students of colonial history, but the use which he has made of them bears eloquent testi-

mony of painstaking labor and almost infinite patience. One is almost inclined to hope that if there are other data pertaining to this phase of British history besides the facts which Mr. Beer has found and brought to our attention they may be allowed to slumber peacefully in the realms of dust and oblivion unless some conclusion worth the while can be established by bringing them to light. The facts which Mr. Beer has so voluminously set forth may probably afford some grounds for novel conclusions on points in British and American history. But one cannot help wishing that the author himself had somewhere given us a tentative interpretation to guide us in the appreciation of his work, or at least a summary of the points he conceives that he has established. We can agree with him that "historical facts should be approached without any preconceived ideas as to their meaning" and that economic data, in particular, are "especially liable to be distorted by the author's personal view of political philosophy." But it is doubtful whether an historian is fulfilling our rightful expectations of him when he is content merely to present facts and leaves them to be "interpreted" by his readers from their individual points of view. That is the chief criticism to which Mr. Beer's work is open. Of facts he has enough and, perhaps, to spare. In truth, he might well have spared us the tedium of reading so many of them. One cannot help doubting whether it is essential for even an historical scholar to know many of the details Mr. Beer has narrated in these volumes. Almost every incident in the day's journey of the commercial development of the colonies is set down with impartial faithfulness. The trouble is that we find little evidence that we are making much progress toward a destination that is at all worth while. And to many of us the journey grows monotonous unless we can find here and there a mile-post to show us where we are and to tell us whither we are travelling.

The only novel points I have noticed in Mr. Beer's book are in matters of detail. Naturally, in assembling so large a body of facts he has found many things not hitherto generally known. But our general conclusions are changed little if at all by Mr. Beer's labors. In his chapter on "Central and Local Administrative Machinery" he has added somewhat to Professor Andrews' monograph, and it is useful to have an authoritative statement of the history of the navigation laws in the period of the Restora-

tion. Even in these chapters it would have been better if the author had divested himself of much of the detail with which he has encumbered his narrative and had told a clearer and more connected story. And it is not so easy to find what the point is in the chapter on "The Colonial Policy of the Period", while the chapter on the slave trade and the remaining seven chapters on the several colonies are little more than mere collections of facts.

After all is said, however, we are indebted to Mr. Beer for his thorough research and for the careful manner in which he has set forth every fact and has pointed us to the source from which it is derived. Whoever in the future shall undertake to reach general conclusions concerning the development of the British Empire in its early stages will find much of the drudgery done for him and many of the facts he needs ready at hand.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

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SAN FRANCISCO RELIEF SURVEY. THE ORGANIZATION AND METHODS OF RELIEF USED AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE OF APRIL 18, 1906. Compiled from studies by Charles J. O'Connor, Francis H. McLean, Helen Swett Artieda, James Marvin Motley, Jessica Peixotto, and Mary Roberts Coolidge. Russell Sage Foundation Publication. New York: Survey Associates, Inc., 1913,—xxv, 483 pp. Postpaid, \$3.50.

That great public catastrophe, the San Francisco earthquake and fire, furnished a remarkable opportunity for men and women of scientific training in philanthropic work to apply their methods to secure the most effective emergency relief. A loss of \$500,000,000 had been incurred in the destruction of real and personal property. Only about \$200,000,000 of insurance money was available for the rehabilitation of the city. There was also an incalculable loss from non-employment, from unrentable property, and from the general cessation of business. The sympathy of the United States and of the civilized world was enlisted for the stricken city, and many millions of dollars of relief funds were provided from various sources. It was the task of the trained workers in philanthropy to administer these funds so as to secure the best results in the material restoration of San Francisco, in the aid of its business men, and in the relief of citizens left in distress.

This volume presents in detail the story of the relief organization that was effected, of the methods that were used, and of the

generally successful character of the work. No such intensive study of any other American disaster of like proportions has been made. The administration of the funds was dominated by a desire not merely to remedy distress in a temporary way but to give such aid as would restore among the citizens the methods and standards of living maintained before the disaster. How this was successfully accomplished makes a story of the greatest interest and presents a record that will be invaluable in similar emergencies in the future. Advance copies of this book were rushed through the presses and put in the hands of the Red Cross representatives who had to deal with the recent tornado catastrophe at Omaha and with the flood situation at Dayton, Columbus, and other Ohio cities. The volume has been lavishly illustrated with pictures showing graphically how the relief organization dealt with the situation. There are likewise several pictures of portions of the city while the fire was in progress. The authors have included maps, charts, statistics, and forms used in the relief work. Altogether this survey is a unique record of the effective application of the methods of modern philanthropy in a time of extreme public emergency.

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**GUERRILLA LEADERS OF THE WORLD.** By Percy Cross Standing. With 16 illustrations and maps. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913, 294 pp. \$1.75 net.

Notwithstanding the organized effort at the present time to bring about peace among nations and to lessen the military spirit throughout the world, deeds of daring still have a power to hold the interest and admiration of the most peaceful. Particularly attractive are the stories of the irregular warfare of the past, in which the guerilla fighter has depended not on the methods of the drill ground and military school, but on the surprise, the feint, the raid, the ambuscade, and the night attack.

Mr. Standing has made it his task to give us a volume celebrating the adventures and achievements of the great guerilla leaders of all the world. The company gathered together in his book is certainly a dashing one. Here we read of Bolivar, Garibaldi, Sitting Bull, Ozman Digna, and our own Mosby, Morgan, and Forrest. Initiative, resourcefulness, bravery, and sheer recklessness

are well illustrated in many a career. The Southern guerilla fighters all receive their meed of admiration from Mr. Standing, who shows how personally estimable they were, although compelled by their destructive task to leave behind them on their expeditions ruin and suffering. The volume is illustrated with numerous portraits and maps.

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THE COTTON MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Melvin Thomas Copeland. Harvard Economic Studies, VIII. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1912,—xii, 415 pp. Price \$2.00 net.

Cotton manufacturing is one of the most important industries of the United States, this country ranking second among the nations of the world in the volume of its output. Hence an exhaustive study of the industry by a competent investigator will be welcomed in many quarters. Dr. Copeland traces the growth of cotton manufacturing in the United States from its earliest beginnings, but wisely confines the discussion of the period before 1860 to a single chapter. After 1860 he considers comprehensively the geographical distribution of the industry, its progress in technique, labor problems, associations and combinations, the raw cotton market, the cloth market, export and import trade, and dividends and prices. Dr. Copeland also devotes a considerable part of his book to a discussion of the relative position of the United States as compared with the cotton manufacturing countries of Europe. He has obtained a great deal of first-hand information from numerous manufacturers and business men in America, England, Germany, France, and Switzerland.

Southern cotton manufacturers will find a number of pages of interesting discussion of the relative advantages of the northern and southern mills (pp. 32-53). Dr. Copeland summarizes the situation as follows: "The advantages accruing to the southern manufacturers from proximity to the cotton fields, good water-power, light taxes, long hours, and new machinery are counterbalanced in the north by more abundant capital and credit facilities, greater public conveniences, more experienced managers and better disciplined workmen, concentration instead of dispersion, superior climate, and nearness to markets and finishing works. The chief asset of the southern manufacturers has been the supply of cheap labor, but this source is nearly exhausted. Hence a rise

in wages has taken place, and it is to be expected that by the competition of employers they will be forced up to the New England level. Few more native whites are to be secured; the negroes are unavailable; and immigrants cannot be attracted by low earnings."

In his discussion of the effect of the tariff on cotton manufacturing, Dr. Copeland maintains that the protective tariff is, for the majority of American cotton manufacturers, "an empty and imaginary guardian." He says: "The prices of the grades of cloth produced in the United States in the largest quantities are practically the same as those obtaining in England. Yet if the tariff does not raise the prices how can it possibly yield any benefit? If the manufacturers were willing to give up some of the useless 'protection' and seek a reduction in the duties on their supplies, they would strengthen their competitive position. Machinery, which is protected by a forty-five per cent duty, costs more in America. Part of this duty on machinery, in turn, goes to the steel manufacturers. The duties on dye-stuffs and other minor requisites are also handicaps to the American cotton manufacturer in his competition for a foreign market."

The author's careful analysis of conditions in the industry and his conclusions, from which we have quoted, deserve thoughtful attention from all who are in any way connected with this branch of manufacture and trade. Such work merits high praise.

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THE SALE OF LIQUOR IN THE SOUTH. THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NORMAL SOCIAL RESTRAINT IN SOUTHERN COMMONWEALTHS. By Leonard Stott Blakey. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Volume II. New York: Columbia University, Longmans, Green and Company, Agents, 1912, 56 pp. Price \$1.00.

Dr. Blakey has undertaken an investigation of the causes of the prohibition movement which recently swept over a large part of the country. In this study he presents the results in fourteen southern commonwealths. He traces historically the progress of the movement for the repression of the saloon and the gradual extension of no-license territory. The facts are illustrated by elaborate plates. Dr. Blakey's investigations indicate that the prohibition movement in the South was not of "cataclysmic

character," but was rather the culmination of a long period of development. A chapter is given to a review of experience with the sale of liquor in the South by government dispensaries. At one time or another this method of dealing with the liquor problem has been used in Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. The most important test of the dispensary method was by the commonwealth of South Carolina. This method of managing the liquor traffic is found to have proved most unsatisfactory. It produced revenue, but it did not eliminate the corrupt influences of the saloon. It gave opportunity for "graft" in political circles. Although some local dispensaries still remain in southern states, the dispensary plan must be pronounced a failure.

Another interesting chapter is that dealing with the hindrances of federal law to the enforcement of prohibition. In his discussion of the difficult subject of conflict between state and federal jurisdiction, the author does not arrive at any practicable solution of the constitutional problems involved. His monograph was published before the enactment of the recent federal legislation on the matter, and hence he had no opportunity for discussing its probable effectiveness.

In the South the presence of a large negro population has been thought by many to be a factor of great importance affecting the solution of the prohibition question. Dr. Blakey's extensive study of the subject, however, leads him to a different conclusion. His inductive inference from data drawn from statute laws, official state reports, and election statistics, is that "the negro has been an inconsiderable factor in the prohibitory movement of the South, because the saloon has been abolished and retained in the communities of the South without apparent reference to the presence of the negro." The negro does not seem to have exerted any greater influence against the prohibition movement than the white man. Dr. Blakey finds himself in essential agreement with the opinion expressed by Dr. John E. White in an article in the *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY* for April, 1908, that the greatest hindrance to the prohibition movement has come from the lower levels of both races.

The work under review is illustrated by tables of statistics, lists of liquor laws, and many elaborately prepared plates.

**THE TASK OF SOCIAL HYGIENE.** By Havelock Ellis. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912,—xv, 414 pp. \$2.50 net.

**GENETICS.** An Introduction to the Study of Heredity. By Herbert B. Walter. With 72 Figures and Diagrams. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913,—xiv, 272 pp. \$1.50 net.

This is a time when many people are deeply interested in the possibility of improving the race through the bringing of better-born individuals into the world. The new science of "eugenics" has achieved a considerable popularity. There is, however, a general lack of knowledge of the difficult biological problems involved in achieving such a conformity with nature's laws of inheritance as to improve future generations mentally and physically. The subject of heredity concerns everyone; the recent literature in this field is very large; and there is a distinct place for a work which explains what is known of the laws of heredity in a manner intelligible to the lay reader.

Professor Walter has undertaken to occupy this interesting field with his volume entitled "Genetics." He has produced a work which is truly scientific and at the same time readable to any one who is capable of giving sustained attention to a rather complicated discussion. In these days of easy reading and engrossing "best sellers," not all readers can comply with such a requirement. For the serious minded Professor Walter has provided a clear and orderly presentation of the results of the best scholarship in the investigation of what is now recognized to be a subject of first importance. One of his most interesting chapters is that on the "Determination of Sex." Here the various theories which have been held by different investigators are reviewed, and the conclusion is that it is not possible for man to predetermine the sex of his offspring, which he has long hoped to be able to do. This conclusion has the practical value of directing attention to purposes which are attainable, such as the improvement of the character of offspring through the development of a eugenic conscience on the part of those entering the marriage relation, and through the use of the authority of society to prevent the defective and criminal classes from reproducing their kind.

The influence of a well-developed eugenic conscience upon marriage is discussed more at length in one of the chapters of Havelock Ellis's "The Task of Social Hygiene." He maintains that

the idea of eugenic selection is not opposed to that of romantic love. "Those who advocate a higher and more scientific conscience in matters of mating are," he says, "by no means plotting against love, which is for the most part on their side, but rather against the influences that do violence to love: on the one hand, the reckless and thoughtless yielding to mere momentary desire, and, on the other hand, the still more fatal influences of wealth and position and worldly convenience which give a factitious value to persons who would never appear attractive partners in life were love and eugenic ideals left to go hand in hand." Mr. Ellis makes some practical proposals for the keeping of eugenic records and for the accomplishment of eugenic selection.

Mr. Ellis's valuable volume also contains able chapters on the changing economic and social status of woman, the significance of the falling birth-rate, religion and the child, immorality and the law, the war against war, and other aspects of the world-movement for a wholesomer and happier humanity. It is far wider in its range and less technical in its subject matter than the work by Professor Walter; but both books are worthy contributions to the definite use of the results of scientific studies for the uplift of mankind.

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**INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS AND TRUSTS.** Edited by William S. Stevens.  
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913,—xvi, 593 pp. \$2.00 net.

Dr. Stevens, in the preparation of this volume, had two aims in view. The first was to design a book that should make accessible to college and university students much material on trusts which is difficult of access, or else altogether unavailable. The second purpose was the collection and arrangement of this material in such a way as to afford the ordinary reader a considerable knowledge at first hand of the historical development of the trust movement in the United States and a comprehension of the great problems which have grown out of this movement. One who is called upon to deal with the history of trust organization and regulation in the country will greet with enthusiasm this fresh collection of readings from the sources. New material drawn from the more recent federal trust investigations and prosecutions will be of especial value to students in college classes. It was

a happy thought to prepare so comprehensive and well selected a volume of first hand information. Dr. Stevens has performed his task with great fidelity to the original papers which he has used. However, in some few cases new typographical errors have been introduced. Nearly all important phases of the trust question are illustrated, and any wide-awake citizen will be interested and enlightened by the selections here presented illustrative of the history and operations of the oil, tobacco, steel, powder, and other combinations.

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**GATES OF THE DOLOMITES.** By L. Marion Davidson. With a chapter on the flora of the Dolomites by F. M. Spencer Thomson. Illustrated with a map and photographs by the author and others. With an introduction by Sir Melvill Beachcroft. London and New York: The John Lane Company, 1912,—xvii, 331 pp. \$1.50 net.

Few books open up more enticing prospects for a summer's outing than does Miss Davidson's account of her experiences in the Dolomites. Travelers in Europe who love walking and mountain climbing have paid too little attention to this remarkable district in the Austrian Tyrol. Here are to be found charming passes, and weird, fantastically formed peaks quite unique among the mountainous regions of Europe. The district is near the border between Austria and Italy, and there is much in the simple life of the mountain people of the two nations to supplement the delights of nature.

Miss Davidson's book aims not so much to inform the traveler how to scale the apparently inaccessible peaks of the Dolomites as to direct him in finding the roads and threading the valleys which lead to the most delightful parts of this romantic region. The illustrations from original photographs give many interesting glimpses both of the scenery and of the people of this corner of the world. The chapters often contain narratives of personal experiences, adventurous and humorous. Anyone who desires to explore this picturesque bit of Austrian territory will find the volume under review a most helpful guide.

A SUNNY LIFE: THE BIOGRAPHY OF SAMUEL JUNE BARROWS. By Isabel C. Barrows. Illustrated. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1913, xi, 323 pp. \$1.50 net.

Samuel June Barrows was one of the leading penologists of the country, being at the time of his death Secretary of the Prison Association of New York. In his earlier years he had a most interesting career. He was a reporter on several New York papers, private secretary to William H. Seward, Secretary of State, editor of the *Christian Register*, and member of Congress. He at one time declined the position of Librarian of Congress. The story of Mr. Barrows' life is told by his wife, and he is indeed fortunate in his biographer. The volume is delightfully written and reveals in many an intimate touch the noble and lovable character of one who was through life devoted to the service of his fellow-beings. It is a fitting record of effective endeavor in humanity's cause—one that will uplift its readers and teach them what things in life are really worth while.

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VIRGINIA. By Ellen Glasgow. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1913,—526 pp. \$1.35 net.

Ellen Glasgow's latest novel "Virginia" deserves a place of distinction among recent works of fiction. It is both personal history and the history of civilization. Personally it is the story of husband and wife who grow apart: the development of the mental life of a talented man and of the heart life of a self-sacrificing woman. In a wider view we have here pictured the influence of changing times and social demands upon the sphere of woman; the faithful, devoted, home-centered wife and mother of the old school is contrasted with the "new woman" aspiring to compete with men on equal terms in every field of political, professional and intellectual life. More than this Miss Glasgow's book is an intimate picture of the people and life of a Virginia town, portraying with sure touch the typical human units who compose the social structure, and revealing in many a striking sentence an insight into their deepest convictions and emotions. Such work as this adds greatly to our admiration for one of the most serious writers in the field of American fiction.

**FIELD-PATH AND HIGHWAY.** By E. E. Miller. Birmingham, Alabama: E. E. Miller, 1912,—96 pp. \$.55 postpaid.

Mr. Miller has written a volume of essays that will make a strong appeal to those who take a delight in the simple things of life. The titles of his graceful sketches are: An Autumn Ride; The Unchanging Love; Not Unavailing; When the Circus Came to Town; A Teller of Tales; The Master's Discipline; For Love of Marjorie; Days of Happiness; The Lure of Tomorrow; and The Chords of Memory. This book is a fit companion for the meditative mood. In the essays one finds tender sentiment, a flavor of quiet humor, and a wholesome out-door atmosphere. The binding of the volume is of green cloth with gold title, and for the right person these essays should make an acceptable gift.

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**THE LAND OF FOOTPRINTS.** By Stewart Edward White. Illustrated. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1912,—x, 440 pp. Net \$1.50.

Again we have an account of a hunting trip in Africa, and one that is well worth reading. Theodore Roosevelt, also of African hunting fame, says that Mr. White's book is "notable" and "first-class," and that as a game-shot with a rifle the author is beyond reproach. Such credentials from a master of the chase certainly establish Mr. White's position in the ranks of the big-game hunters—if he needs to be vouched for. Nor will the reader who never handles a gun find the volume lacking in interest. He can here enjoy in fireside safety adventures with animals at all times interesting and often thrilling. But there is more in Mr. White's book than stories of hunting. Interesting glimpses of the life and customs of the peoples of the districts traversed are given, and many entertaining stories and episodes of this "safari," or hunting expedition, are told—some of them with a strong element of humor. There are about eighty excellent illustrations of African scenery, animals, and natives.

